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A REPLY

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"A FOOL'S ERRAND, BY ONE OF THE FOOLS."

BY

WILLIAM L. ROYALL,

OF THE NEW YORK BAR.

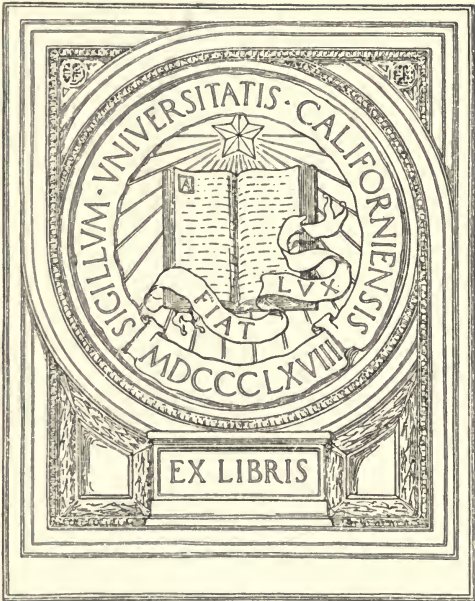
"Judeus damnatur cum nocens absolvitur."

Third Edition.

With sixty-four additional pages, containing Mr. Royall's Rejoinder to Mr. Tourgee's Letter of Answer in the New York Tribune.

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17 MURRAY STREET.

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TO THE
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PREFACE.



IN the following pages I have endeavored to write the truth, and I have written it without regard to the matter of whom it may hurt. I have said some hard things, and I have not attempted to soften their native ruggedness by sugar coatings.

I look upon the book to which I have attempted a reply as a wilful, deliberate, and malicious libel upon a noble and generous people, amongst whom I was born and raised, and in full sympathy with whom I hope to live and die. I look upon its author as one of the most contemptible fellows of those who have libelled that people, and not at all less contemptible because highly endowed with intellect; but rather more so, because, with all the disposition towards grovelling malice which a weaker man could have, he has yet far greater powers to injure, and he has deliberately used those powers to their full extent.

I have made no mealy-mouthed defence of the people of the South. It is not on bended knee and with cringing accent that, self-appointed advocate though I be, I have brought their cause before the world. I have attempted to speak for a race of whom the males are men, as I believe those men would have their race spoken for.

Writing in this spirit, I feel that those who do me the honor to read this essay are entitled to know something of who and what I am, in order that they may be the better able to judge what weight is to be given to what I say.

As a young Virginian, I was a soldier in the Confederate army, from the beginning of the war to the end of it. After the war I practised law, in Richmond; Va., until January, 1880, when I founded a daily newspaper, called "The Commonwealth," and edited it until August 1, 1880, in a vain endeavor, along with the rest of the "rebel element" there, to save my native State from the infamous brand of repudiation, which the Republicans and the scalawag native white population were seeking to put upon her. From the time that repudiation has been an issue in Virginia politics, I have been prominently connected with public affairs there. I mention these things to show that I have been in a position to know the temper and feelings of the Southern people. I do not perceive that anything further personal to myself would be interesting or useful to the public, and I shall, therefore, proceed with the work which I have undertaken.



“A Fool’s Errand, by One of the Fools,” REPLIED TO.



CHAPTER I.

A PRETENDER UNMASKED.

THIS is a small book ; but it would be difficult to find more malice in a large one. That it is written with great cleverness, it is needless to say. The popularity to which it has attained is the surest evidence of that. It pretends to be a picture of life and manners in the Southern States. Those who know the people of those States know it to be no picture, but they recognize in it a grotesque caricature. It contains just enough of truth to give color, skilfully wrought into a warp and woof of *suppressio veri* and *suggestio falsi*. Manifestly, the writer has seen much of the life and ways of the people of the South, and he has learned much of those people. Instead, however, of using his knowledge to represent them fairly, he has used it to misrepresent them. Much as the writer has seen of the people of that section, he does not know them. He could not paint a picture of Southern life, if he tried—and his object has

been misled. He has manifestly heard a good deal of the negro dialect; and yet his representations of that dialect are ridiculous to those who have been raised with the negro. His negro conversations are no more like the real language of the negro than a Chinaman's pigeon English is like the English of Herbert Spencer. He comes about as near representing the negro dialect correctly, as the Ethiopian stage players, who never saw a negro, usually come.

Had "The Fool" possessed the knowledge of Southern character necessary to draw it to the life, he would never have blundered here; and a blunder at this point inevitably betrays, to the knowing, the impostor who pretends that he understands that people.

We read, in the eleventh and twelfth chapters of the Book of Judges, that there was war between the Ephraimites and the Gileadites, and that the Gileadites slew many of the Ephraimites, even unto all that fell into their hands, when they ascertained that they were Ephraimites. Therefore, when an unlucky wight of an Ephraimite fell into the hands of the Gileadites, it is not unnatural that he should have denied his nationality. The Gileadites, however, had one sure test for an Ephraimite. The latter could not pronounce the Hebrew letter sh in the word *Shibboleth*. Consequently, when a stranger was suspected of being an Ephraimite, he was subjected to this test, and if the answer came *Sibboleth*, off went his head. Milton has commemorated the fact in the following lines :

" Without reprieve, adjudged to death,
For want of well pronouncing *Shibboleth*."

The Ephraimites' "want of well pronouncing Shibboleth" did not betray him more surely than "The Fool's" ridiculous negro conversations betray him.

When a writer undertakes to describe the life and manners of the Southern people, and makes the negroes talk a lingo composed in part of accurate and correct English, and in part of a jargon that never existed anywhere, save in the imagination of some one who supposed he could talk their language, *a priori* we know that he is an impostor, and is dealing with a subject that he is utterly incompetent to handle.

Just as, by the same token, we know that the pretended soldier who can give you marvellous accounts of his exploits during the war, and especially at the battle of Fredericksburg, was a camp-follower or deserter, or something worse, when we hear him talking of the charge on "Saint Marye's Hill" ("Fool's Errand," p. 133).* The work is a systematic and well-considered libel upon the people of the Southern States of this Union, and is very well calculated to do them a most foul injury and wrong.

* The charge was on the hill upon which Mr. John L. Marye's house is situated. "The Fool" evidently got the idea in his head that *Marye* was some sort of corruption of *Saint Mary*.

CHAPTER II.

SOUTHERN LIFE AND CHARACTER, AS PORTRAYED BY
“ A FOOL.”

“ A FOOL’S ERRAND” purports to tell the story of the residence of a Northern man who had served through the war in the Federal army, in the Southern States, from the year 1865 to 1877 or 1878. This Northerner had gone South in good faith to dwell there and to cast in his lot with the people there. It recounts a sad life for him, and one of terrible oppression and persecution, due to the fact that he was a Northern man. It represents the white people as almost unanimously animated with the most intense, bitter, and savage hatred of the negro, viewed otherwise than as a chattel, as property—viewed as a component part of society—and very graphically and powerfully unfolds a story of wrong, outrage, and oppression, of which he was, through years, systematically made the victim by the white people. It pretends to tell the story of the notorious Ku-Klux plots. It represents the entire white population of the South that had been in sympathy with the Confederacy, as actively engaged in this Ku-Klux conspiracy, which had its ramifications in every county and neighborhood of the Southern States, and which beat, hung, and shot negroes by the thousands, just for the sport of the thing.

To be sure that I do him no injustice, I will quote a

few passages out of the many in which "The Fool" describes the state of affairs. A committee of citizens having addressed him a note of a somewhat warning character, he replies to it, and in that reply he says :

"Of course, as I have not access to the secret archives of the Klan, I have no means of verifying this estimate. You will recollect that this estimate embraces every unlawful act perpetrated by armed and organized bodies in disguise. The entry of the premises and surrounding the dwelling, with threats against the inmates ; the seizure and destruction or appropriation of arms ; the dragging of men, women, and children from their homes, or compelling their flight ; the binding, gagging, and beating of men and women ; shooting at specific individuals, or indiscriminately at inhabited houses ; the mutilation of men and women in methods too shocking and barbarous to be recounted here ; burning houses, destroying stock, and making the night a terror to peaceful citizens by the ghastly horror of many and deliberate murders" (p. 221).

Again, describing the general condition of the country, he says (p. 226) : "A strange commentary upon civilization ; a strange history of peaceful years—bloody as the reign of Mary, barbarous as the chronicles of the Comanche. Of the slain there were enough to furnish forth a battle-field—and all from those three classes, the negro, the scalawag, and the carpet-bagger—all killed with deliberation, overwhelmed by numbers, roused from slumber at the murk midnight, in the hall or the public assembly, upon the river brink,

the lonely woods road, in simulation of the public executioner—shot, stabbed, hanged, drowned, mutilated beyond description, tortured beyond conception, * * * and then the wounded—those who escaped the harder fate—the whipped, the mangled, the bleeding, the torn ! men despoiled of manhood ! women gravid with dead children ! bleeding backs ! broken limbs ! Ah ! the wounded in this silent warfare were more thousands than those who groaned upon the slopes of Gettysburg ! Dwellings and schools and churches burned ! People driven from their homes and dwelling in the woods and fields ! The poor, the weak, the despised, maltreated and persecuted.”

In this wholesale game of murder, rapine, and plunder, “The Fool” represents that the entire white population of the South—save those that were attached during the war to the Union—took hands, and all from a bitter, malignant, unyielding hatred for the negro as a component part of society. By consequence, too, he represents that they extended this feeling to all persons who came from the North. At page 155 he says : “Whatever or whoever was of the North or from the North was the subject of ridicule, denunciation, and immeasurable malignity and vituperation.”

This is the picture of a fearful social condition, and if it were a correct one, it would justify very serious reflection at the hands of philanthropists generally. That it is as false as hell itself, every man who has lived in the South knows perfectly well.

That during what is known as the period of recon-

struction, in several of the Southern States there were violence, disorder, and possibly outrage, no candid Southerner will deny. But that there was any such state of affairs as "The Fool" represents — a wholesale plot in which all or any considerable portion of the people were engaged—every man, woman, and child who knows anything of the subject, knows to be ridiculous. And yet, I doubt not that this "Fool's" picture of the state of society in the South will be accepted by the world as drawn to nature. The Northern and Western parts of this Union are blessed with a credulity touching all matters which tend to bring the white people of the Southern States into disgrace and contempt, which, as an article of faith, would meet the requirements of all that the most enthusiastic professor of the Christian religion could ask for. No story, however monstrous, which represents a Southern community in an attitude of violence and defiant turbulence, is too gross for Northern belief. The typical idea of the Southerner is that of a long, lank man, with scraggy hair and beard, and broad-brimmed, slouch hat, who has no less than two revolvers always concealed about his person, which he will immediately use with deadly effect, whenever an opportunity to trespass upon some other person's rights occurs. Without taking the trouble to inform themselves correctly touching the people of the South, they accept any derogatory story that timid sensationalists or designing scoundrels may choose to invent, as the truth regarding those people. I have met frequently with curious and absurd illustrations of this.

Colonel S——, of South Carolina, related to me an amusing instance of it. A few years back he was returning home from a summer's sojourn at the Greenbrier White Sulphur Springs of West Virginia, by way of Richmond, Va. On the way, two gentlemen got on the train, returning from the Hot Springs in Bath County, Virginia, where they had been for some time, taking the hot baths for rheumatism. One was a Mr. A——, of Boston, and the other an acquaintance of Colonel S——, Mr. B——, of Charleston, S. C. They had become well acquainted with each other, and had frequently talked over the condition of the South. Mr. B—— was a *bon vivant*, and was very fond of what was good to drink as well as of what was good to eat. In the course of the journey he came to Colonel S——, and told him that the gentleman from Boston had some of the finest brandy he had ever seen; that he had given him two drinks of it, but he wanted another, and was ashamed to ask him for it. "Come," says he, "let me introduce you to him, and he'll offer you a drink, and in that way I'll get another." Colonel S—— thanked him, but begged to be excused. Soon afterwards he saw B—— talking very confidentially to A——, and nodding significantly at himself, and very soon the two came up, and Mr. A—— was presented to Colonel S——. A—— seemed very anxious to play the agreeable, and offered the party some of his brandy. In this way B—— got his drink.

When the party arrived in Richmond, B—— went on through, but Colonel S—— and his Boston friend

stopped. They went to their rooms and dressed, and soon after, the Bostonian meeting Colonel S——, asked him to go over to the bar and get a julep. S—— asked to be excused.

“Oh,” says A——, “don’t you mind me. I’m all right. I wouldn’t tell on you for the world. I don’t care how many of them are killed.”

On hearing this S—— took in the situation. He saw at once that B——, to get his drink of brandy, had told some story on him that would excite the Bostonian’s interest and would thus lead him to seek S——’s acquaintance, when an offer of the brandy to the party would follow. He therefore went with A—— to the bar. Whilst standing there he said, “What tale did B—— tell you about me, anyhow?”

“Oh,” says A——, “don’t you mind me; I’m not going to tell on you. I don’t care if you was to kill all of them.”

“But what,” says S——, “did he tell you about me?”

“Oh,” says A——, “your friend told me all about your troubles. He told me about your being a Ku-Klux, and having killed those three negroes, and about your being up here in the mountains hiding around to keep from being caught.”

“Now that just shows,” said S——, “how you people get fooled. I’m no Ku-Klux, and I never killed a negro in my life. I’m not that sort of a man.”

“Oh, never you mind,” said A——; “I’m all right. I’m not going to tell on you. You can just feel perfectly satisfied about that.”

And he parted with S—— under the full belief that he was a terrible Ku-Klux, and has, no doubt, many times since made his children's hair stand on end with accounts of the desperate, ruffianly Ku-Klux that he met on that trip. Mr. Conkling would do well to put the account of these three murders into his scrap-book to swell the list of the helpless negroes who have been assassinated.

I will mention another ridiculous thing of this sort that came under my observation.

After Mr. Tilden had been elected President of the United States, but before Mr. Hayes took his seat, a wag came into the city of Richmond one evening on a crowded train. There was, as usual, a large crowd of idle, lazy negroes standing around the depot. This wag jumped off amongst them, and commenced going from one to another, making a cross mark with a piece of chalk on the back of each. Somebody asked what he was doing it for. "Oh," says he, "Mr. Tilden sent me word that I could have all I could mark." A panic ensued amongst the negroes, which extended very considerably beyond those at the depot. I afterwards heard of this thing being seriously told out in Minnesota as an evidence of a desire and purpose upon the part of the Southern people to re-enslave the negroes if they could.

CHAPTER III.

THE REAL SITUATION AT THE SOUTH—THE CARPET-BAGGERS—A. W. TOURGEE.

HE who would really understand the present state of affairs in the South, and the temper and feeling of the people toward the negro and toward the Government, must take a retrospective view of society there for the past twenty years.

In 1860 there can be no doubt that a large part of the population of the Southern States was opposed to a secession of those States from the Union. But when once the act of secession was accomplished and the tocsin of war had sounded, the entire white population, almost as one man, became ardent sympathizers with the Confederacy, and earnest supporters of its cause. Leaving out of view an inconsiderable part of the mountains of the South, and leaving out of the account such cowardly vagabonds as would profess friendship for one cause or another, according as the immediate profession would tend to save their persons from the risk of war—persons who were no more friendly to the Union than to the Confederacy, but who were eternally friendly to themselves alone—it would be safe to say that after the date when the first battle of Manassas was fought there were not twenty-five persons in any one of the Southern States who did not sympathize heart and soul with the Confederacy and its cause.

“The Fool” has represented that there was a considerable body of the people that remained true all through the war to the Union, who exhibited the highest heroism in defying the Confederacy, and who were subjected to outrageous treatment for their loyalty to the United States. This is all the merest bosh and stuff. Let any man name the individuals in any neighborhood who sympathized with the Union, and I will undertake to show them to have been a set of selfish, cowardly skulkers from military service, with a rare exception here and there.

It is altogether a mistake, too, to believe, as many Northerners do, and as “The Fool” would represent, that the lower orders of society were dragooned into support of the Confederacy by the dominating higher and slave-holding class. The institution of slavery, leaving the slave-owner great leisure time, gave greater opportunities for the cultivation of all those relations of life which tend to produce individuality of character, than any other condition of life of which we have an account. Each slave-owner, producing from his own resources almost everything that was necessary to life, was independent, in a measure, of every one else, and, being under no necessity to exert himself in the way of manual toil, his attention was principally engaged with what goes in the direction of the ornamentation and embellishment of life. The individuality of character which this mode of life tended to arouse was not confined to those who were slave-owners; it extended from them, by contagion, to all orders of life. The “poor

white man" was as prompt to resent any apparent trespass upon his rights or personal dignity at the hands of his rich neighbor, as the rich neighbor would have been to resent the same thing at the hands of his social peer. Many a court green has witnessed a rich slave-owner receive a black eye and a bloody nose from a "poor white man" of his neighborhood in retaliation for some slight which the poor man took as an indignity. This individuality of the people was exhibited in a marked manner in their jury trials. All orders of the white people were liable to jury service in Virginia, and I think I should risk nothing in saying, that in the thirty years preceding the war, there were more hung juries in the State of Virginia than in the States of New York, New Hampshire, Connecticut, Massachusetts, and Maine combined, during the same period. Each man, therefore, of the population, went into the movement for the establishment of the Confederacy, from his own desire to see it established, and not because he was driven into it by terror of his more powerful neighbor. They made a fierce and a desperate struggle to accomplish their end, fully aware of what was at stake, but in no measure intimidated by the possibility of defeat. Having exhausted themselves, they threw down their arms with the most unreserved purpose of abiding by the issue. They recognized the judgment of the tribunal to which they had appealed as deciding two things: first, that there existed no right or power in any State to withdraw from this Union, but that it was, in the language of the Supreme

Court, “an indissoluble union of indissoluble States ;” and second, that the institution of slavery was to be forever at an end in the Southern States. Having appealed to the tribunal of arms, declaring that before that tribunal they would make good the other side of both these propositions, and their chosen tribunal having decided against them on both points, it never entered into their heads to say or do one thing that could be said to be in contravention of the judgment that it had pronounced.

They accepted the result of the war as having settled both these points, and having placed them beyond the domains of controversy. They looked, however, with the utmost horror and dismay upon the suggestion that the ballot was to be placed in the hands of their former slaves. With the disfranchisements imposed upon themselves, they saw that this might well lead to the entire rule and dominion of each State passing into the hands of those slaves. They reflected that themselves were a proud and haughty people, developed by the habits and modes of thought of generations into a race peculiarly sensitive to whatever may have the appearance of personal indignity. They saw the African, on the other hand, totally destitute of every element in human character that governmental aptitude demands. Neither he nor any generation of his ancestors had ever had any instruction in those matters that are essential to a just appreciation of the responsibilities of a ruler. His ancestor had been brought to this country a savage—to bring him here

he had been trapped and lassoed in the jungles of his native forest as men hunt wild beasts. The negro's position after coming here had been more that of a domestic animal than of a member of society.

How could the dominant race, being a race such as the Southern people are, look upon the prospect of complete dominion over themselves, passing by one single move to these their former slaves, without considering it one of the most fearful throes and revolutions to which society could fall a victim? Who can blame them for looking upon this as the very worst evil that could befall them? Who can blame them if they should have determined to die rather than see it accomplished? Who can deny that to their minds it was the same thing as turning themselves over to plunder, murder, and rapine? Suppose that by some sweep of a magician's wand it should be so ordained that the monkeys in Africa should become the dominating race there, and that the men and women of Africa's wastes should bow their heads in submission to monkey rule. Who is he, bearing the form and semblance of a man, who would not share in the indignation of the human beings there, and who would not justify them in opposing this dominion, whether by shot-gun or by fraud? How could fraud be predicated upon resistance to such a state of things?

Lieutenant-Colonel Napier, of the British army, who has perhaps seen the Bushman of Southern Africa to as much advantage as any other person, has given the following graphic picture of him :

“The Dutch Boer, the Griqua, the Bechuana, the Kaffir, all entertain the same dread of, and aversion to, those dwarfish hordes, who, armed with their diminutive bows and poisoned arrows, recklessly plunder and devastate, without regard either to nation or color, and are in their turn hunted down and destroyed like beasts of prey, which, in many respects, they resemble. Time, a knowledge of and an occasional intercourse with people more civilized than themselves, have made little change in the habits and disposition of this extraordinary race. The Bushman still continues unrelentingly to plunder, and cruelly to destroy, whenever the opportunity presents itself. His residence is still amongst inaccessible hills, in the rude cave or cleft of the rock, on the level karroo, in the shallow burrow, scooped out with a stick, and sheltered with a frail mat. He still, with deadly effect, draws his diminutive bow, and shoots his poisoned arrows against man and beast. Disdaining labor of any kind, he seizes when he can on the farmer’s herds and flocks, recklessly destroys what he cannot devour, wallows for consecutive days with vultures and jackals amidst the carcasses of the slain, and, when fully gorged to the throat, slumbers in lethargic stupor like a wild beast, till, aroused by hunger, he is compelled to wander forth again in quest of prey.

“When he cannot plunder cattle, he eagerly pursues the denizens of the waste, feasts indifferently upon the lion or the hedgehog, and, failing such dainty morsels, philosophically contents himself with roots, bulbs,

locusts, ants, pieces of hide steeped in water, or, as a last recourse, he tightens his girdle of famine, and as Pringle says,

“ ‘ He lays him down, to sleep away,
In languid trance, the weary day.’ ”

“ Whether this precarious mode of existence may or may not have influenced the personal appearance of the Bushmen, it is difficult to say, but a more wretched looking set of beings cannot be easily imagined. The average height of the men is considerably under five feet, that of the women little exceeding four. Their shameless state of nearly complete nudity, their brutalized habits of voracity, filth, and cruelty of disposition, appear to place them completely on a level with the brute creation ; whilst the clicking tones of a language, composed of the most unpronounceable and discordant noises, more nearly resemble the jabbering of apes than sounds uttered by human beings.”

Suppose that through some social convulsion these Bushmen should be ordered into power and control over their neighbors, the Dutch Boer, the Griqua, the Bechuana, or the Kaffir. Would it be expected that the latter should submit to the rule? Would they not rise in the majesty of their nature and protest that it was a mockery of human government to force human beings, developed to their point in civilization, to bow in obedience to the rule of such beasts as these? They would, and every man, woman, and child on this earth who knows the sentiments of human nature, would clap and applaud the act.

I do not of course mean to say that the civilization of the Southern negro is advanced no further than that of the Bushman. But I do mean to say that the difference between the civilization of the Bushman and that of any of his neighbors, the Kaffir for instance, is not so wide as that between the Southern negro and the Southern white. I mean to say that there would be more show of reason to force the Kaffir to submit to the rule of the Bushman than there would be to force the Southern white man to submit to the rule of the Southern negro.

It altogether fails to meet the exigencies of the case to say that the Southern people, having held the negroes in their state of slavery, are themselves responsible for their present state of civilization. This is not a question as to who is responsible for the condition of things ; it is an inquiry as to what is the real condition. Whoever may be responsible, the fact nevertheless exists, that the negro in his present state is not fitted to be put in dominion over the white people, and that conclusion being arrived at, disputes as to who is responsible for the situation will do for the entertainment of the male and female old women ; but statesmen and practical people have no time for them.

Now, from the very ending of the war the Federal Government exhibited a fixed determination to force the white people of the South to bow their necks to the negroes' yoke. It was decreed that a race, transformed in the twinkling of an eye from slave to free,

should be placed in absolute power over the race that for generations had held them as slaves. This was contrary to nature, and it was not reasonable to suppose that it could be done without producing violent social commotions. I will not deny that there have been such ; but that they were not so violent as to drape the entire land in mourning, is the only surprising thing about the whole matter.

From the very ending of the war the edict went forth from Washington that no man should hold office in the Southern States who could not swear that he had had no sympathy with the Confederacy. As the entire white population had been in earnest sympathy with the Confederacy, this confined the possibility of governmental agencies to the negroes and such strangers as might happen to come there. No negroes could be found who were competent to discharge the offices of government, which practically confined the incumbency of office to the strangers who might happen to offer themselves. There was no lack of these. The number who were willing to forego all the enjoyments of their own homes to assist in the patriotic duty of "reconstructing the rebel States," was equal to what the most enthusiastic patriot could have hoped from his countrymen, and the utter unselfishness with which they took possession of every office that had a salary attached to it was in perfect keeping with the patriotism of their natures. The whole South was at once overrun with the larvæ of the North. Wherever there dwelt a scoundrel, who feared that his neighbors

would give him his deserts in the form of a coating of tar and feathers, that neighborhood lost a citizen, and the South gained an apostle of reconstruction. Whenever the womb of the North revolted at its burden, and spewed forth some putrid mass of crime, the South received a patriot who knew nothing but "restoration of the Union," and devotion to the "poor downtrodden negro." These vultures and harpies came into every neighborhood where an office was to be filled. They inflamed the minds of the negroes with sensational stories of a determination on the part of the white people to re-enslave them. They made them believe that unless they organized themselves, and stood shoulder to shoulder, the white people would again reduce them to slavery. They organized them into what were called "Union Leagues"—organizations that had but one watchword, opposition to the whites. These "carpet-baggers," for this was the name with which the people dubbed them, had but one purpose in all this, and that was to use the negroes' ballots to put themselves into all the offices in each State. Backed by the Federal Government they succeeded, and from the time that their governments were established they bent all the energies of their natures to swindling and plundering the people in every possible way. They stole directly and they stole indirectly. They robbed the public treasuries of every dollar they contained, and then increased the taxes of the people to replenish them that they might have more to steal. When all was absorbed that these sources would furnish, they

created the States' bonds, sold them for twenty-five and thirty cents on the dollar, and stole that, leaving the people with the burden of the bonds upon them. All this by men who had no particle of interest in the country, except in that part of it which they carried upon their dirty persons. No people was ever afflicted by such a curse as the Southern people were afflicted by in these carpet-baggers. Æneas must have had them in his prophetic eye when, three thousand years ago, he described the harpies with which he met on the islands of Strophades.

“ Tristius haud illis mōnstrum nec sævior ulla
 Pestis et ira Deum Stygiis sese extulit undis.
 Virginei volucrum vultus, fœdissima ventris
 Proluvies, unœquæ manus, et pallida semper ora fames.”

I will give one illustration of the way in which these harpies plundered the people. The town of Vicksburg, Mississippi, contained, in 1868, about thirteen thousand inhabitants, of which about six thousand were negroes, and, therefore, non-property-holders and non-tax-payers. It owed nothing at that time, and the rate of taxation was very small. In 1868 Vicksburg passed into the hands of a carpet-bagger government, under which it rested until 1872. In that time, those carpet-baggers had caused the rate of taxation to be raised to six per cent, on a heavy assessment of property, and they had fastened upon the town a bonded debt of six hundred thousand dollars, bearing ten per cent interest, and a floating debt of over one hundred thousand dollars. Having destroyed the credit of the place,

they issued the scrip, representing the floating debt, at from forty to sixty cents on the dollar—that is, for an article worth five dollars they would give the town's promise to pay ten dollars. Fifty thousand dollars would pay for all that was done with all the money received, in consideration of this load of debt.

It requires no careful reading of "A Fool's Errand" to discover that "The Fool" was one of these carpet-baggers, and that his errand to the South was that of his fellows. Fortunately, we are not left to the evidence which his book furnishes, of the purposes for which he went South. We have the good luck to have other and complete outside evidence upon those points.

From the close of the war until 1871, the good old State of North Carolina was the victim of a carpet-bag government, which was as atrocious as any that afflicted any other Southern State. When her own people got possession of their government, her Legislature appointed a commission of eminent lawyers, to investigate the villainy and rascality of which the State had been made a victim during the time of carpet-bag rule. This commission took a great mass of testimony, and it has been published as the "Report of the Fraud Commission." It is Document No. 11, of Session 1871-72. And, oh! it does disclose a period of rascality, knavery, theft, and plunder, which makes the reader rage and gnash his teeth. An account of one little transaction which it unearths will be found interesting.

Geo. W. Swepson and certain accomplices, of whom

one M. S. Littlefield, of New York State, calling himself "General," was the chief, determined to go into partnership with the State of North Carolina, in the business of building railroads, from the French Broad River to the Tennessee line, at Ducktown and Paint Rock. An act was accordingly passed by the carpet-bag negro Legislature of North Carolina, chartering the Western North Carolina Railroad, as it was to be called, and providing that the State should subscribe to two thirds of its stock, when certificate was made to the Board of Internal Improvement, that one third of what it would cost had been subscribed by solvent individuals, and the building of the road had been put under contract. The State's subscription was to be paid for in her bonds, which were to be delivered to the president of the company. In October, 1868, those who proposed to organize the company had a meeting at Morganton. \$308,000 was, at that meeting, subscribed to the stock, and it was resolved that the subscribers should pay up in cash five per cent of their subscriptions. \$200,000 of this \$308,000 was subscribed for by "General" M. S. Littlefield, \$100,000 by one Reynolds, of Statesville, and \$8,000 by other parties. Littlefield gave his check on a Baltimore banking house, for \$10,000, for his five per cent, which check was never paid; and Reynolds gave his note for \$5,000, for his five per cent, which, likewise, never was paid. Five per cent in money was paid on the \$8,000. Thus, this great enterprise was started on a cash capital of four hundred dollars.

George W. Swepson was made president of the company.

Shortly afterwards subscriptions were added, making the whole amount \$2,000,000. Of this additional subscription Colonel S. McD. Tate took \$500,000, and General R. M. Henry took \$400,000, and General M. S. Littlefield took the balance. Nothing was ever paid on their subscriptions. The subscriptions necessary to secure \$4,000,000 of the State's bonds were thus secured, save only that the requirement of the statute that they should be made by solvent individuals, was hardly complied with. It was necessary, however, under the law, to go one step further. The road must actually have been put under contract before the State could be called upon to issue her bonds. But with gentlemen as accommodating as General Littlefield around, this, of course, would not long remain a difficulty. It is true that legislative lobbying had theretofore seemed to be his *forte*, and he had not been known to have had much experience in building railroads, but he was not the man to allow a trifle of this sort to stand between a friend and good luck. So he took a contract to build the road from Asheville west, while Colonel S. McD. Tate took one to build it from Asheville to Paint Rock. Thus Mr. Swepson was enabled to certify to the Board of Internal Improvement that \$2,000,000 of the capital stock had been subscribed for by SOLVENT individuals, and that the building of the road was under contract. He accordingly made these certificates, whereupon \$4,000,000 of

the bonds of the State of North Carolina were issued to him, in payment of her subscription to the road. It is refreshing to consider the view which Swepson took of the transaction at the time he made the certificates. The following question was asked him by the commission :

“ Q. Were not those contracts considered at the time a mere formal compliance with the charter to procure the issuing of the bonds, and without any expectation that either of the parties would comply with the terms by doing the work ?

“ A. It was considered a mere formal compliance, in order to get possession of the bonds. There was no expectation that either of the parties would do the work themselves, or any part of it, and that the road would be let to real contractors.”

Within a short time \$2,640,000 more of North Carolina's bonds were issued to him on the same account. None of them were able to give any intelligible account of how this \$2,640,000 came to be issued to him, though Mr. Swepson stated, page 213 :

“ In regard to having the second instalment of bonds (after the \$4,000,000), I think there was an additional subscription made by Littlefield, but the five per cent was not paid by him. My impression is, that I must have made the certificate to the Governor, otherwise I do not see how I could have gotten the bonds. But I cannot say whether I did or did not make the certificate ; *but I got the bonds.*”

Thus under a scheme by which the State was to subscribe to two thirds of the stock when the other third was subscribed for by solvent individuals, and the building of the road was put under contract to responsible parties, Swepson was put into possession of \$6,367,000 of the State's bonds, when there had

been only a sham subscription to \$2,210,000 of the stock, and the building of the road had been put under sham contracts to these sham subscribers.

Swepson remained president of the company until October, 1869. In that time he had disposed, either by sale or hypothecation, of \$5,089,000 of these bonds, leaving \$1,278,000 of them in his possession, accounted for by him as lost through various accidents and misfortunes (page 320). How much of the proceeds of these \$5,089,000 of bonds the railroad got the benefit of, I do not know ; but Mr. Swepson has given us an interesting account of what he did with \$880,000 of the proceeds of them. In his testimony he has told us, at page 328 (compare page 221), that, thinking he saw a good thing down in Florida, he took \$160,000 of the proceeds, and bought a majority of the capital stock of the Florida Central Railroad, and \$720,000 of it and bought \$1,000,000 of the bonds of the Pensacola and Georgia Railroad. In answer to the commission's questions, regarding this transaction, he stated, page 209 :

“ When I commenced to make these investments, I intended them on my own account ; but after the heavy losses I sustained in New York and other places, I turned them over to Littlefield, to secure the Western Railroad Company, he agreeing to pay the full amount of the Florida investment to that company.”

After Swepson had been president for one year, it was determined to turn him out and make Littlefield president. I suppose that such a carcass offered pickings that were too good for any one man to be allowed

to remain long in possession of it ; and the State holding a majority of the stock, whoever could control the State's vote could be made president. Swepson gave the commission the following account of that, p. 217 :

“ In New York, just before the election of president of the company, in 1869, Mr. Roberts, the secretary of the company, and Mr. Dowell, of Asheville, were caucusing frequently with General Littlefield. Littlefield came to me and stated that it was determined that he should be elected president of the company at the next October meeting. I told him ‘ Very well,’ but that they must settle with me ; that a good many of the bonds were pledged as margins for various persons, and I had lost some of them ; that they must take these bonds and assume the margins ; that they must take my investments in Florida, and if they would settle up, and let me out with whole bones, I would settle with the road in everything, and willingly stand aside and say nothing. Littlefield agreed to do so. We both attended the meeting at Asheville, where I declined to be a candidate for the presidency. A caucus of the Republican members of the corporation was had, I understood, at which I was not present ; but General Littlefield told me it was determined to have a Republican president of the road, and that he was to be elected. * * * The meeting of stockholders was had, and General Littlefield by them elected president.”

So that, as the Florida investment of the road's money turned out badly, it was determined that the road might have it.

It may be imagined that authority for all this stupendous and infamous robbery was not obtained without paying for it, and this brings us to the most delicious *morceau* of the whole evidence. We will preface this by the statement that all the world now knows that “ The Fool,” the author of “ A Fool's Errand,” who has professed to write an account of his

experiences in the South, is A. W. Tourgee, a carpet-bagger, who migrated to North Carolina directly after the war, and who held office in North Carolina under her carpet-bagger government as judge of one of her circuits. Mr. Swepson told the commission, pp. 201 to 203:

“In the special session of 1868 a bill was passed making an appropriation to the western division of the Western N. C. Railroad, as I now remember. That bill did not accomplish the purpose; for the reason, as I understand, that no tax was levied to pay the interest. In the fall of that year I was elected president of said road. I came to Raleigh, and urged the passage of another bill through the Legislature. I was then told by Littlefield and Deweese, who were a kind of lobby lawyers, Littlefield being the principal, that I would get no bills through the Legislature unless I entered into the same arrangement, which they said the other railroad presidents had made, to pay a certain per cent (ten per cent in kind) of the amount of the appropriations.” (Let it be recollected that Littlefield had already made his great subscriptions to the stock of the road, and had already taken his great contract to build it.) “I understood from Littlefield and Deweese that all the other railroad presidents had made such an arrangement with them. I had no conversation or agreement with the railroad presidents myself; but it was generally understood that each of them had employed Littlefield as a lobby lawyer. I then agreed to their proposition, and afterward paid Littlefield upward of \$240,000 in money and some bonds for his services in procuring the passage of the bills through the Legislature, making appropriations to the western division of said road.

“Q. How did you make those payments to Littlefield, of money and bonds?

“A. I paid money in various ways. Sometimes upon Littlefield's order; sometimes by taking up his notes and notes of other parties at his request; sometimes in money to him; some bonds.

“Q. Will you give the names of the individuals to whom these several sums of money have been paid?

“ A. I have a list of the various sums of money paid out, the time when paid, and the names of the persons to whom paid, which list I will furnish hereafter as a part of my testimony. I have it not now with me.

* * * * *

“ Q. You stated in the former part of your examination that you would furnish a list of the names of persons to whom money and bonds were paid. Are you prepared to give that list ?

“ A. Since my last examination, I have had a full examination made by my clerk and bookkeeper, Mr Rosenthal, of the accounts kept by him, and I hereby furnish to the committee a copy from the books of the account entitled ‘ M. S. Littlefield with G. W. Swepson.’ This account I believe to be correct. The same was kept by my bookkeeper and clerk, Mr. Rosenthal. This list embraces the amount of \$241,713.31, which I stated in my report made to N. W. Woodfin and other commissioners, had been expended to secure the charter and appropriations on account of the western division of the W. N. C. R. R. Co.

“ Q. Will you please state particularly on what account these various sums of money were paid, and whether you have vouchers for the same ?

“ A. As I stated in my previous examination, I was told by General Littlefield and Deweese that I could get no bills through the Legislature unless I entered into the same arrangements agreed upon by the other railroad presidents, which he said was to pay ten per cent in kind on the amount of the appropriations. In pursuance of this agreement made with Littlefield, who was the principal man in the negotiation, the various sums of money were paid out to the different persons named in the lists furnished upon orders given by Littlefield, or upon notes given by him.”

The account which Mr. Swepson furnished of the items of this \$241,713.31, paid for getting his bills through the Legislature, is found at page 316 of the report. The first item on the account is :

“ June 17, 1868. To A. W. Tourgee, \$200.”

Near the end of the account the following item appears :

“ July 24, 1869. To A. W. Tourgee and protest, \$3,502.55.”

Explaining the items of this account, Mr. Swepson told the commission, p. 203 :

“ In regard to the item of \$3,500, charged to have been paid to A. W. Tourgee, my recollection is that this was a draft of A. W. Tourgee, drawn on me without authority, and I did not pay it until some time after it had gone to protest, when General Littlefield requested me to pay it, and charge it to him on this account. I did so.”

Again, page 218, the commission returned to this account and asked the following question :

“ Q. Look over the account furnished by you as charged against Littlefield, and explain the items as well as you can recollect, and the considerations therefor.

“ A. All these items were paid, as I have before stated, under an agreement between me and Littlefield. As to item charged to A. W. Tourgee, June 17, 1868, of \$200, the account given by Mr. Rosenthal is correct.”

We go now to Rosenthal's testimony, p. 225. After stating that he was clerk and bookkeeper for Swepson from 1865 to the fall of 1870, and that he had made out the account which Swepson had filed, and that it correctly represented the money that Swepson had paid on account of his bargain with Littlefield, he was asked :

“ Q. Do you know the consideration for which these various sums of money were paid ?

“ A. As to the first item charged against A. W. Tourgee, of

\$200, my impression is that it was a note that was in bank which was overdue, and Swepson took it up. It is probable, however, that it is for money loaned directly by Swepson to Tourgee. I was told to charge it to Littlefield. I was told by Mr. Swepson that he was to pay Littlefield a certain sum for getting these railroad bills through the Legislature, and these payments were to be charged against that account. As to the second item of \$3,502.55 against Tourgee, of date July 24, 1869, a draft drawn by Tourgee on G. W. Swepson for \$3,500 was presented for payment, and payment refused, and it went to protest. Some time afterwards Mr. Swepson instructed me to pay it, and charge it to this account, which I did."

The commission state, at page 21, that they had summoned all persons referred to in Swepson's account before them to be examined with reference to the payments there charged, and that all had come except James Sinclair and Judge Tourgee.*

"General" Byron Laflin, a "visiting statesman," who did North Carolina the honor to represent one of her counties in her Legislature, and who figures in several places in the report (Mr. Swepson accounts for \$55,000 of the \$1,278,000 that he was short by this item, "55 bonds hypothecated with Clews & Co., on account of Byron Laflin"), got into an omnibus one day to go to the railroad depot on his way North, about the time that the carpet-bagger government was falling to pieces; some one called to him, "Why, General, are you not coming back?" "Oh," said he in reply, "is there anything left?" Little matters of this sort are quite sufficient to account for the people of North

* See Addendum, page 87.

Carolina having made Mr. Tourgee's stay there quite disagreeable to him, without resorting to the presumption that he was unpopular by reason of being a Northern man. I have no doubt that if "General" Laflin should come forward to testify in the matter he would tell us that his stay was made quite as uncomfortable as Mr. Tourgee's.

But one result could flow from this state of things. Those who looked for peace and order under it expected the laws of nature to reverse themselves. They were people who could persuade themselves to believe that water could be coaxed into running up hill, or that Niagara's torrent might be checked with a finger. Just so long as the negroes remained banded into a solid organization—held together for the sole and exclusive purpose of dominating the whites, and just so long as the carpet-baggers remained amongst the people egging the negroes on, and encouraging them to maintain their organizations—just so long there was bound to be hostility between the races and bitter and undying hatred of the carpet-baggers. Be the community where it may, the virtue, the intelligence, and the property of that community must rule it, and when the community is divided into two distinctly marked races, and one of them contains all the virtue, intelligence, and property, and the other has none of either, then the more civilized race must dominate the less civilized, whether it be more numerous or whether it be less numerous. If it is not done by direct force, it will be done by superior knowledge and art. It

must be so as between the Southern negro and white ; it would be so as between the Northener and the Chinaman ; it must happen between the Englishman and the Zulu.

If the people of the North and West would only learn the lesson which reflection and experience long to teach, they would abandon the attempt to force an intercommunion of the races in the South, which the laws of nature forbid. They would learn that race prejudice is the most powerful force that operates upon the human mind, and that all the bayonets on earth cannot force a race, holding the relation to another race that the white people of the South hold to the negroes, to live in submission to that less civilized race. Risk of death is more endurable to them, and a persistent effort to force the submission must result in constant revolution and bloodshed.

The people of the North and West are greatly mistaken, too, in their idea of the relations that exist in the South between the two races. There is no hostility whatever between them when the negroes are let alone, and no designing scoundrels stir up strife between them for the accomplishment of their own ends. The attempt to maintain carpet-bag governments in the South having been abandoned for several years past, the utmost cordiality and amity have come to exist between the two races. The two races having been born and reared together, each understands perfectly his position in the social scale, and neither attempts to invade the domain of the other. The negro is pressing himself

along, acquiring property and educating his children. With nothing to excite the white man's prejudice of race, this is telling on him. He is beginning to watch with great interest the negro's development from a condition of servitude into one that will in time fit him for the discharge of a citizen's duties. He aids and encourages him in every way in his power. He gives him absolute protection in all his rights of person and property. In the courts the negro receives as absolute justice when his controversy is with a white man, as the white man would receive in a controversy with another white man. The white man all over the South is taxing himself, and heavily too, to furnish free school education to the negro, and it is telling wonderfully upon that race. A few of the facts relating to this matter in the State of Virginia will be interesting in this connection. The white people of Virginia overthrew the carpet-baggers and got possession of their government in 1869. From that time to this they have annually taxed themselves to keep up an elaborate free school system, and the following numbers of negro children have been annually taught in the free schools :

In 1871, there were 38,554 ; in 1872, 46,736 ; in 1873, 47,596 ; in 1874, 52,086 ; in 1875, 54,941 ; in 1876, 62,178 ; in 1877, 65,043 ; in 1878, 61,772 ; in 1879, 35,768 ; in 1880, 68,000.

Here are more than half a million of negro children that the white people of the State of Virginia have given the advantages of education to in the past ten years. The negroes themselves have contributed little

or nothing toward the cost of it. The expense of it has been voluntarily borne by the white people of the State, and that notwithstanding the utter disorganization of labor left by the war, the loss of capital and the destruction of property, and the terrible pressure of a very large public debt, created before the war. The difference of conditions being considered, the other Southern States show a parallel state of affairs. The white people of Virginia have shown the same humane spirit in their care for the negro insane. A central lunatic hospital has been established for them, in which all the insane negroes of the State are placed, and they there receive the very same attention and care that are bestowed upon the white insane. Every medical appliance which the progress of civilization shows to be adapted to the treatment of the insane, is furnished to these negroes. For the past ten years there have been in this hospital an average of nearly three hundred patients each year. The very great expense of this is voluntarily borne by the white people of Virginia.

As illustrative of the utter absence of hostile feelings between the races when they are allowed to dwell together without the disturbing influence of selfish carpet-baggers, I venture to make this statement. The proprietors of a street - car line in Richmond, Charleston, Savannah, Mobile, or New Orleans, might on any day discharge every white driver and fill their places with negroes, and no greater commotion would ensue than upon any other ordinary change in a business.

I should not like to see the result if such an experiment should be tried in the City of New York or in Boston !

When the Virginia delegation to the Democratic Convention at Cincinnati went out, one gentleman, a delegate from the city of Richmond, carried his servant, a negro man, with him. On the way to Cincinnati it became necessary to travel all night on the Pennsylvania Railroad. The gentleman mentioned, determining that his servant should be comfortable, hired a sleeping berth for him. Mr. Samuel J. Randall, Speaker of the House of Representatives, and a prominent candidate for the Presidency—so prominent that the great State of New York cast her entire seventy votes for him—was on the train, and it was so crowded that he could not get a sleeping berth. The conductor of the train came to this Virginia delegate and asked him if he would not make his servant surrender his berth to Mr. Randall ; that if he did not, Mr. Randall would have to sit up all night. The delegate very promptly told him that he would not ; that it was a mere question of whether Mr. Randall should be uncomfortable all night or whether his servant should be uncomfortable, and that Mr. Randall had as well be uncomfortable as his servant. And he went to the negro and told him to let him know if any effort was made to deprive him of his berth, and that he would protect him. Every Virginia delegate to the convention can vouch for the truth of this statement.

Now, this delegate was in every way identified in the

most intimate manner with that element in the Southern States which "The Fool" represents as hating the negro with an intense hatred, and yet he would not consent to see his negro servant made uncomfortable to make the present Speaker of the House of Representatives, and possible future President, comfortable. I would like to see which one of "The Fools" who vex the ear of the public with their snivelling lies about the oppression of the negro, would have done this! Whichever one of them had been applied to, he would have hastened, with obsequious self-abasement, to kick his servant out, that the great man might enjoy his ease.

It is only necessary to leave the white man and the negro alone, and they dwell together in perfect peace, and the negro will, by degrees, evolve himself into such a condition of civilization as to entitle himself to a share in the political administration of the country. But if this constant effort to force an unnatural assimilation of the races is kept up, disorder and confusion must be the result. When a small auger-hole is bored through the bottom of a tank full of water, if let alone, it will, by degrees, draw all the water off and leave the tank in perfect condition. But if an attempt be made to force the water through this small orifice, so that the tank may be emptied in half the time, it will burst, and great damage will be done.

CHAPTER IV.

TREATMENT OF NORTHERNERS IN THE SOUTH.

“THE FOOL” represents the Southern people to have been animated with a bitter hatred towards all people from the North. This also is a slander upon them, and can easily be shown to be one. They did and do have the most intense feeling of hostility for all Northerners who, like “The Fool,” came amongst them to band the negroes together as a political machine, through which they might be plundered and robbed. But every Northerner who has gone into the South since the war, settled amongst the people, and shown an intention to accept the situation as it is, and to try and build up the country and retrieve the losses of the war, has been received by the people with respect and hospitality, without any regard whatever to the place from whence he came.

Gilbert C. Walker, of the State of New York, came to Virginia in the year 1865, connected with the Federal army, and settled at Norfolk, Va. As soon as the war was over, he accepted it as ended, and showed by all he did and said that he proposed to live in peace and amity with the people amongst whom he had settled. He soon became exceedingly popular. In 1869, when the white people of Virginia were given an opportunity to struggle for the possession of their government, they selected Gilbert C. Walker—Northerner though he was, connected with the Federal army

though he had been—and made him their candidate for Governor, against H. H. Wells, a Northerner of the carpet-bagger stripe, whom the negroes made theirs.

Walker was elected Governor. He served his term of four years with great satisfaction to all orders of the people, and when he came out of his office he was the most popular man before the white people of Virginia in the State. He could have beaten any other man in the State, upon a direct vote of the white people, for any office within their gift. I have, myself, seen him come into the Richmond Theatre, when it was filled from pit to dome with all classes of people, from the humblest artisan to the proudest scion of the old slave-holding aristocracy, and I have seen the entire body, ladies and gentlemen, rise as one man to cheer him.

As soon as his term of Governor was ended, he offered himself as a candidate for nomination, by the white people, for member of the House of Representatives from the metropolitan district of Virginia, containing the city of Richmond, the capital of the late Confederacy. His competitor for the nomination was Col. John H. Guy, a gentleman of the highest integrity and character—universally respected and esteemed—a man who had been a distinguished colonel in the Confederate army, and who was in every way identified with the old slave-holding element. *Yet Walker beat Col. Guy, before the WHITE PEOPLE, ten votes to one.* He was elected to Congress, served his term of two years, returned, and offered again for the white

people's nomination. This time no one dared to run against him, and he was made the white man's candidate, *nem. con.*

Colonel Albert Ordway, of Massachusetts, came into Richmond at the surrender, in command of a Massachusetts regiment. He settled there, and at once manifested a purpose similar to Walker's. He gained unbounded popularity, was constantly sent to the city council by the white people—was made their candidate for Congress, and was one of the most popular members of the Richmond Club, a social institution, which was very small and very select, and composed almost entirely of the bluest blood of the old slave-holding-aristocracy.

General W. F. Bartlett, of Massachusetts, had been a distinguished soldier in the Federal army. He had commanded a brigade of negroes at the terrible battle of July 30, 1864, known as the battle of "The Crater." In 1872 he settled in the city of Richmond. Writing to his friends in Massachusetts, he says: "Before we had been here a month we found ourselves overwhelmed with kindness, cordiality, and hospitality from the very nicest people here." "*Palfrey's Life of Bartlett*," page 235.

These facts speak for themselves. They give voice to louder tones than all the brays of all the fools that ever went on errands of plunder and theft. And instance might be piled upon instance, taken from each Southern State, indicating the cordial reception which the people have ever given to all Northerners who

have come to settle among them for the purpose of building up the country. They have had no feelings of hostility for any Northerners except those who have come amongst them to plunder and rob, and to band the negroes together as a political machine for their own subjection. They have, and in the nature of things must have, a deep and abiding hatred for those.

CHAPTER V.

NORTHERN IDEA OF THE "REBEL BRIGADIER"—THE "REBEL BRIGADIER" THE MOST LAW-ABIDING CITIZEN IN THE COUNTRY — DUPLICITY OF THE REPUBLICAN ADMINISTRATION IN VIRGINIA POLITICS.

THERE is a general belief in the minds of Northern people that the white people of the South are a lawless, turbulent, disorderly set, quite opposed to everything in the nature of conservatism. The "Rebel Brigadier" represents to the Northern mind an embodiment of all that is opposed to law and order. Now, no greater injustice was ever done to a people than this error does to the Southern people. There is no people now living upon the globe who are so entirely conservative in their character as the white people of the Southern States. They fought the late war from a sense of duty, and with a deep-seated conviction that they were right. However much a

Northern man may declare that the act of the Southern man was treason, yet to the mind of the Southern man his act was not only right in the sight of God, but enjoined upon him by His law. Having failed in his contest he has loyally surrendered the propositions for which he fought, and he proposes loyally to abide by the covenant into which he entered at the end of the war. He will not tolerate a suggestion of anything which is not in perfect faith with the terms upon which the surrender of his arms was received. Should a Northern State attempt to secede from this Union, no part of the country could be relied upon so surely to coerce her to resume her proper relations to the General Government as the lately seceded States. The State of Virginia to-day affords a striking illustration of the conservative character of the "Rebel Brigadier." Before the late war, that State had borrowed a large sum of money, which had been expended in creating her railroads, canals, and public institutions, for which she had given her bonds. Within the past five years an effort, headed by Wm. Mahone, who was a major-general in the Confederate army, has been set on foot to repudiate a large part, if not all, of this debt. In the fall of 1879 an election for members of the Legislature was held in Virginia, and the issue in that election was the repudiation or non-repudiation of the debt. In that election all the negroes (who constitute the Republican party of the State) voted for legislative candidates who favored repudiation, *while every "Rebel Brigadier" in the State, save and except Wm. Mahone, voted to make the State pay her debt.*

There exists to-day, in every county in Virginia, a feeling of bitterness between the repudiators and the debt-payers, more intense than any that ever existed between any political factions in the United States. Duels have been fought over it, and constant personal collisions have occurred and are occurring, and yet *every single "Rebel Brigadier" who now resides in the State of Virginia, except Wm. Mahone, is on the side of the debt-payers.*

Here they are by name—every person now living in the State of Virginia who held rank in the Confederate army of brigadier-general and above, with the rank of each :

1st, General : General Joseph E. Johnston.

2d, Lieutenant-General : General Jubal A. Early.

3d, Major-Generals : General Fitz Lee, General W. H. F. Lee, General D. H. Maury, General Robert Ransom, General H. Heth, General J. L. Kemper, General James A. Walker, General L. L. Lomax, General William Smith, General G. C. Wharton, General Samuel Jones, General William B. Taliafero, General Custis Lee, General Thomas L. Rosser, General Charles Field.

4th, Brigadier-Generals : General William H. Payne, General Lindsay Walker, General McComb, General R. D. Lilly, General D. A. Weisiger, General John Echols, General R. L. T. Beale, General Joseph R. Anderson, General John R. Cooke, General Eppa Hunton, General J. H. Lane, General M. D. Corse, General Beverly Robertson, General T. T. Munford,

General William R. Terry, General William Terry, General T. M. Logan, General William C. Wickham, General P. T. Moore, General Seth Barton.

This is a galaxy of citizens of which any State that ever existed might be proud. No nobler, truer, more self-sacrificing men ever lived in any country, than those whose names are mentioned above. Show them anything that it is their duty to do, and they will do it, let the consequences be what they may.

In the election just held, three Presidential electoral tickets were run and voted for in the State—two Hancock tickets and one Garfield ticket. One of the Hancock tickets was put in nomination by a convention of the “Readjusters’” party. All the negroes voted for the Garfield ticket, and all the whites, save a percentage too small to be of consequence, voted for one or the other of the Hancock tickets. The result was, for the Debt-payers’ ticket, 96,912 votes ; for the “Readjusters’” ticket, 31,674 ; for the Republican ticket, 84,020. Now I do not mean to say that all who voted for the debt-payers’ ticket are debt-payers. But I do mean to say that a very large proportion of them, perhaps eight out of ten, are. It is easy therefore to see how quickly the matter of repudiation would be disposed of in Virginia if the “Rebel Brigadiers” and the white people were allowed to have their way, and the Republican party did not force the State into repudiation.

In the contest that is going on in Virginia over this question of repudiation, not only are the “Rebel Brigadiers” on the side of the debt-payers, but almost

all of what is derided as the "rebel element" is on the same side. Indeed, there is nothing on the side of the debt-payers save and except that which is denominated in the North as the "rebel element." On the side of repudiation are all the negroes, *i.e.*, the Republican party, and the bumper and office-seeking element of the whites. The debt-payers' party is made up of those who constituted the controlling classes before the war, *while the repudiators' party is made up almost entirely of the Republicans* in the State, *i.e.*, the negroes. It is but justice to say that of the few white people in the State who are Republicans, some, perhaps a majority, are debt-payers. But the fact stands, an incontestable fact, that the State of Virginia is before the world this day as a repudiating State, and made so by the vote of the Republican party, and in the face of the fierce and indignant protest of the "Rebel Brigadiers." Not only did the rank and file of the Republican voters vote for the repudiators' candidates in the election of a Legislature in the fall of 1879, but those Republican candidates who were elected to the Legislature, with but few exceptions, voted for the measures of repudiation that were brought before that body. A bill was brought up for its consideration, known as the Riddleberger bill, which repudiated nearly one half of the debt straight out, and provided the machinery for repudiating all the rest, and this bill could not have passed either body of the Legislature without the votes of the Republican members, *and it was passed through both bodies*

by their votes. It is not a statute of Virginia to-day, solely because her Governor, a gallant "rebel" colonel who had lost his right arm in battle at the head of his regiment, vetoed it, and her constitution requiring a vote of two thirds of the body to pass it over his veto, the effort made by the Republican members to accomplish that end was defeated by the "rebel element" of her Legislature.

Further, with all the clatter that the Republican party makes about its being the party of law and order and public credit in this country, its leaders gave all the aid and encouragement in their power to the repudiation party in Virginia in this same election. The negroes vote absolutely at the beck and call of the administration of the Federal Government. In the contest in Virginia, in the fall of 1879, had the Federal administration put in its oar, and made a serious effort to control the negro vote, that vote would have been cast solidly for the debt-payers' candidates. But because the debt-payers' party was composed of the respectable part of the white people of the State, the influence of the administration was all thrown, in a silent and secret way, upon the side of the repudiators, whilst great pretence was publicly made that the administration was on the side of the debt-payers. One fact will prove this statement beyond the possibility of cavil. When the canvass was at its hottest, Mr. Green B. Raum, next in the Treasury Department to the Secretary, made public proclamation that, as an important part of Mr. Hayes' administration, he had

notified one Van Aucken, an officer of internal revenue at Petersburg, that it had been reported to the Government that he favored repudiation; and that he had notified him that the Government would not tolerate any such views in one of its officers, and that he must change them or give up his office. He added some fine homilies upon the duty of paying debts. This action of the administration was heralded all over the United States, and was in half the papers published in America. Good Republicans, wherever they read it, raised their eyes to heaven, and thanked God that their President was not as other men, and that the rights of honest creditors were safe in his hands.

Now it so happened that Van Aucken was an original debt-payer, had been one all along, and was one of the fiercest enemies the candidates of repudiation had in his vicinity. But one Hathaway was a collector of customs at Norfolk, drawing regularly a salary of \$1,800 per annum. This man, during all this time, edited a daily paper at Norfolk, called the *Day-Book*, which was the rankest advocate of repudiation in the State. Now, though the attention of the administration was constantly called to the injury which he was doing the debt-payers' party with his paper, he was never once molested, and was allowed to draw his salary regularly from the treasury of the United States, to supply him with means with which he could force the State of Virginia to repudiate that debt, which her "rebel" sons were trying to make her pay. The credit of the Republican party was preserved,

while no harm was done to the repudiators' party. All the aid in the administration's power was thus secretly given to the party of repudiation in the State.

The result of the war left the white people of Virginia flat on their backs. Their farms were devastated, denuded of stock and farming implements; fences were gone; their slaves, the real productive property, upon the faith of which the public debt had been contracted, were taken from them without compensation. There are many persons who would not have been surprised had these people in their despair said to their creditors: "We have been subjugated, we have been conquered, we have been robbed by our conquerors of all that we had when we borrowed your money. We refuse to be made the victims of plunder, and still hold ourselves bound to pay. Go, seek your money at the hands of those who have forcibly taken from us our means of payment." At least it would have created no surprise if, seeing the newly enfranchised race bent on repudiation, they had stood aside and permitted them to work their will. They have done neither of these things. To its everlasting glory be it said, the derided "rebel element" of Virginia has fought and fought, and is still fighting, against the Republican party of Virginia for the privilege of paying to their creditors—citizens of the Northern States and of Great Britain—what their State owes to them. And they have done this, notwithstanding the fact that it is they themselves who must pay it all, the Republican voters being almost all non-property-

holders. Surely these be people who may repel the charge of turbulence and lawlessness! Surely these be people who may claim that they are animated by the very highest sense of duty and conservatism.

The hydra of which we flippantly speak as "The Commune" is lifting its many heads in every quarter of this Union. The "strikes" of 1876 faintly foretold the commotions which will tear and rend our social fabric if the discordant elements which make up the population of the United States should ever get into the full jangle of discord. When the dreadful day arrives that shall witness these hostile elements in full battle array against each other, those to whom the widow and the orphan, the aged and the infirm, the weak and the property-owner will look with the most eager hope, if it occur within their generation, will be the "rebels," whose yell was loudest and fiercest on the blood-stained heights of Gettysburg. Should this awful day arrive when they have passed away, then will it be to those, the descendants of these, who were taught at their mothers' knees that they must stand by the right, whatever may betide.

CHAPTER VI.

THE USUAL COMPARISON BETWEEN NORTHERN AND SOUTHERN CIVILIZATION.

IT is quite the fashion to institute comparisons between the civilization of the South and the civilization of the North, always to the very great disadvantage of that of the South. In October, 1880, Senator Conkling made a speech in the City of New York which has been heralded from one end of this Union to another by his claquers, as a very great production of a very great man. Though the speech contains no direct assertion that barbarism reigns at the South, whilst the sun of civilization shines upon the North alone, its whole warp and woof is substantially this. After picturing a land of violence and disorder, he said, "The cause of such a condition, and the consequences, if it succeeds, are matters which no sane, intelligent man can put out of view; and yet he who discusses these must be told, in the coarse parlance of the day, that he waves 'the bloody shirt.' It is a relief to remember that this phrase and the thing it means is no invention of our politics. It dates back to Scotland three centuries ago. After a massacre in Glenfruin, not so savage as has stained our annals, two hundred and twenty widows rode on white palfreys to Stirling Tower, bearing each on a spear her husband's bloody shirt. The appeal waked Scotland's slumbering sword, and outlawry and the block made the name of Glenfruin terrible to victorious Clan Alpine, even to the third and fourth generation."

Mr. Conkling was most unfortunate in his selection for illustrating the barbarism of the South. Occasions may and do arise in every Southern State when widows may exhibit the bloody shirts of their slain husbands ; and yet, while there is a deep feeling of sympathy for the widow, there is no feeling of regret for the husband ; and common consent, which has become common law, applauds the act of the slayer. These occasions arise when an outraged husband takes the law into his own hands, and slaughters, where he finds him, whether at church or at fair, the traitor who has invaded the sanctity of his home and corrupted the wife of his bosom. Mr. Conkling's illustration may well suggest the inquiry whether that is a lower civilization which justifies the outraged husband in slaying the man who has thus ruined his home and his life, even though it should leave to a widow the legacy of a husband's bloody shirt ; or whether that is a higher civilization which exhibits a terror-stricken husband thus wronged standing in the presence of his wife's paramour, shot-gun in hand, yet trembling and afraid to shoot.

The habit which in all the Southern States prevails to a more or less extent, of protecting character by holding him who assails it to a personal account, is also constantly referred to as an evidence of the barbarism of the Southern people. I do not propose to say one word in justification of the *duello*. But this at least can be said of those regions where it is resorted to. The possessor of a fair character may feel sure, unless he do something to forfeit it, that he will pass his life

in full possession and enjoyment of it, exempted from all danger of having it besmirched and befouled with slanderous and calumnious statements regarding him.

With this blessing attained by tolerating the *duello*, the inquiry may well suggest itself, whether, as an institution, it is the greatest evil with which society can be afflicted.

Is it worse that a man should lose his life in a duel than that, after having lived blamelessly and with the respect and esteem of his acquaintances, he should be made the target for every irresponsible slanderer who may choose to defame him, and be brought down, after a life of credit, in sorrow and shame to the grave?

On the 25th day of October, 1880, the journal published in New York City, called *Truth*, in an editorial article, spoke in the following terms of James Gordon Bennett, Esq. :

“ Well, it seems to be a desire on the part of Mr. Kelly to rid the community of one of the most despicable, low-lived, debauched scamps who ever disgraced his father’s name and brought odium on his very nationality. Mr. James Gordon Bennett, since childhood, has been a drunkard, an associate of women of the town, a night brawler, a coward, a cur. No respectable society will admit him—no ladies will acknowledge his suit—no gentleman will shake him by the hand. He is forced to the companionship of the Gunny Bedfords, Wrights, Sanfords, Ikey Bells, Larry Jeromes, and other persons of more or less respectability and notoriety.”

This publication is made of a man who is the pro-

prietor of the most influential newspaper in the United States ; who is one of the wealthy men of New York City ; who is a member of the Union Club, of New York City, the most prominent social institution in the city—who associates in that institution with the leaders of New York society, and who visits at the houses of the leaders of New York society. If these published charges be true, what sort of a character can James Gordon Bennett have? If they be false, what is the value of his character to him? Only those who know him personally—and they must necessarily be few—can know that they are false, and to the rest of the world—who only know him as his character is published to the world—he is the sort of man that that publication proclaims him. Now, no man of any respectability could live in any community in any Southern State who allowed such a thing as this to be published about him, without risking his life in an encounter with the publisher. Consequently, no such publications are ever made, unless concerning men notoriously without character. Which is the higher order of civilization—that which permits a man to secure to himself the enjoyment of that character which a long and blameless life has entitled him to, or that which compels him to stand helplessly still whilst character thieves steal it from him?

It does not, therefore, follow, because this institution is tolerated to a certain extent in the Southern States, that the people of those States are barbarians.

CHAPTER VII.

THE DISCUSSION IN RELATION TO POLITICAL PARTIES IN THE UNION—THE TRUE LINE OF DIVISION BETWEEN DEMOCRATS AND REPUBLICANS—THE FOURTEENTH AMENDMENT.

THE general theme which we have discussed being substantially the true pivot upon which the difference between the two great political parties that divide this country turns, some remarks upon the respective aims of those parties may not be out of place here.

There is but one point of difference between the Republican party and the Democratic party; and, though that point is always carefully ignored and concealed in all party proclamations, it is broad, distinct, and well defined. It is the aim of the Republican party to add to the powers of the General Government—to strengthen the hands of the General Government until, as is generally believed, that General Government shall have full and undisputed power to do whatever it may determine to be most for the public good. The Democratic party, on the other hand, insists that the true chart of the General Government's powers are to be found in a strict construction of the terms of the original Constitution, as it may be modified by a construction of the amendments in harmony with that original Constitution. The Democratic party insists that the Government shall have no powers—shall have no existence—

outside of what a strict construction of the Constitution and its amendments may give to it. There is no difference between the parties on any other point; there is a radical difference between them upon this one point. There is no difference between the parties upon a question of protective tariff. There are as many Democrats in favor of a protective tariff as there are Republicans in favor of it, and there are as many Republicans in favor of free trade as there are Democrats in favor of free trade. There is no difference between the two parties upon questions affecting the currency. There are as many Democrats in favor of an exclusively metallic currency as there are Republicans in favor of it; and there are as many Republicans who favor a system of inflated paper currency as there are Democrats who favor such a system. There is no point of difference of this sort between the two parties. There is but one single point of difference between them, and that is the point mentioned. Whatever a Republican's opinions may be touching the tariff or the currency, yet he favors a strong central government. Whatever a Democrat's opinion may be upon either of these matters, yet he insists upon holding the Government down to the powers which a strict construction of the Constitution will give to it. All Republicans are found upon one side of this proposition, and all Democrats are found upon the other side of it; and for the past fifteen years the Democratic party has been making a great, perhaps a fatal, mistake, in not forcing upon the country an acknowledg-

ment of this fact. With this as the point, and the only point, of difference between the two parties, it has, for the last fifteen years, permitted the Republican party to stand forth before the world arrogating to itself the claim that it is the party of law and order—that its aims are for the preservation of property and the protection of vested rights; whilst their antagonists, the Democratic party, are a party of turbulence and disorder—a party made up of all the bankrupt and discontented elements of the country, opposed to everything conservative, and allied to everything revolutionary. Not only has the Democratic party permitted the real point at issue to be ignored, but it has given only too much show of reason to the charges of its adversary. Wherever, in the Union, any ism has taken possession of the heads of crack-brained men, the Democratic party has sought to gather the disciples of this ism into its folds. It has eagerly sought the alliance of the Greenbacker of Maine, the Greenbacker of Indiana, the Kearneyite and sand-lotter of California, and the repudiator of Virginia.

It has sought companionship with all these noxious social elements, and they have fastened themselves on it like barnacles on a ship, until it is hard to tell the Democratic ship from the corroding barnacles. The Democratic party will not deserve to administer the affairs of this Government until it shall kick off from itself all these filthy barnacles—until it shall challenge the Republican party's claim that it is the party of law and order and preservation of property—until it shall

present itself before the country as emphatically the party of law and order and property. When it shall do this ; when it shall have spurned from itself every accessory which would lift it into power through lunatic isms and rascally devices for theft ; when it shall have done this, and forced its adversary to join in battle with it upon the question of whether the ancient theory of a government of limited powers shall be preserved, or whether it shall be overthrown and a government of unlimited powers be substituted in its stead—then it may hope to come into the control of this Government. But it never will so come into control until it does this, and it will not deserve to rule this Union until it does this.

The Republican party's theory of what the powers of the General Government are and ought to be, is best illustrated by considering the political cases decided by the Republican Supreme Court in the spring of 1880.

In those cases, that court laid this down as the theory of our Government under the amendments to the Constitution adopted since the war. It held that the Congress of the United States was empowered by those amendments to enact any law that it thought necessary to secure to citizens the equal protection of the laws, and that it was the duty of the executive and judicial departments of the Government to carry out and enforce any such laws as the Congress might enact. Two of the particular cases in which the doctrine was applied were these : Congress had enacted a statute

providing substantially that in every criminal prosecution or civil proceeding before a State court, if the defendant would make oath that he could not secure the enforcement in the State court of a right guaranteed to him by the Constitution or laws of the United States, his case should be removed for trial into the United States Court. A citizen of Virginia was indicted in a court of the State of Virginia for the crime of murder, which was a violation of the laws of Virginia, but no violation of the laws of the United States. He made the affidavit prescribed by the statute, and had his case removed for trial into the Circuit Court of the United States. The State of Virginia resisted this. Now, it is obvious, if the removal could be sustained, that this was converting the courts of the United States into a machine for enforcing the laws of the State of Virginia, made for the prevention of crime. It was certainly converting the judicial department of the United States to uses that it was never intended for in its inception. Murder being no violation of any law of the United States, for the United States Court to take jurisdiction of the prosecution of a man charged with murder, was for it to take upon itself the duty of vindicating the offended sovereignty of the State of Virginia, and of enforcing the laws of Virginia made to suppress that crime.

The Supreme Court of the United States held that it was within the constitutional powers of Congress to enact such legislation, if it was in its judgment necessary for securing to citizens the equal protection of the laws.

The second case was this: Congress had enacted substantially that if any State officer should administer his office in such a way as to deprive citizens of the equal protection of the laws, he should be liable to prosecution and punishment in the Circuit Court of the United States.

A judge of one of the courts of the State of Virginia was indicted in the United States Court for depriving citizens of the equal protection of the laws, by systematically omitting a certain class of citizens from his jury lists. He pleaded that, being a judicial officer, vested with the exercise of a discretion, he could not be arraigned as for a criminal charge for executing the functions of his office as he best knew how, and that if he failed to give accused parties all their rights under the law, it was their duty to seek a reversal of his judgments through the ordinary processes of the law. The Supreme Court, however, held the act to be within the constitutional powers of Congress.

Now if, under the Constitution of our Government, Congress is invested with these powers, it is idle to talk of its being a government of limited powers—the General Government is one of as full and despotic powers as any that has ever existed on the globe. If it be true that it has power to enact every law that is necessary to secure to citizens the equal protection of the laws, and if it be true that it is the sole and exclusive judge of what legislation is necessary for securing to citizens the equal protection of the laws, then there is practically nothing which the Government of

the United States cannot accomplish. All talk of a government of limited powers is simply bosh, and we have a government clothed with as supreme powers as the most tyrannical despot could wish. Constitutional limitations are gone, and home rule and local self-government are ended. Under the right of removal for trial, Congress may fill every State with its agents, placed there to carry out the will of Congress. However heinous may be their crimes—however they shock decency and violate the fundamental principles of the society where they may be—yet can Congress cover them with the panoply of a perfect immunity by providing that if the community attempt to prosecute them for their crimes, their causes shall be removed for trial into the Federal courts. Not only this, but under the judge's case it may operate directly upon each citizen of each community. It may provide that if any citizen dare place himself in opposition to the will of Congress, he may be seized, carried off to another State, tried for a crime in a Federal court, and punished as the judge of that court may see fit. If Congress can act upon the case of a State judge in this manner, so can it act upon the Governor of the State, the members of the Legislature of the State, each other officer of the State, and indeed upon every citizen of the State. Nay, more ; if it have power to punish any officer of the State for executing a law which in its working deprives citizens of the equal protection of the laws, then in the plenitude of its powers it may act directly upon the law itself, and by its own act repeal that law.

With this as the theory of our Government, what is the use of talking of our Government being a complex government, composed of States which have certain powers independently to themselves, over which the General Government has no control, and a General Government invested with certain powers which the States cannot affect? If this is the form of our Government, then the States have no provinces reserved to themselves. The General Government has complete jurisdiction and power over all branches and departments of affairs.

It should not be forgotten, that when the Supreme Court pronounced its opinion in these cases, that great jurist, Mr. Justice Stephen J. Field, seconded by Mr. Justice Clifford, dissented, and lifted his voice in an ever-memorable protest against the doctrine of the court.

The Democratic theory of the Government of the United States is that it has no existence, save as it is created by the powers that the people of the United States have granted to it, and that those powers are clearly defined and limited in the Constitution. The Democratic theory is an expression of the proposition that the more nearly government can be reduced to a system of home rule—local self-government, the more perfect the government is, and the greater the liberty and happiness of the citizen will be. It contends that the General Government was never intended to have any voice in matters of a local nature. That its province was intended to be the custody of those matters which

are of general concern, such as peace and war, regulation of the currency, regulation of intercourse between this country and foreign countries, and between the different States, regulation of weights and measures, and such other matters in which all the citizens of all the States are equally interested, and that those subjects over which it was intended that it should have control are specifically expressed in the Constitution. Its proposition is that the General Government has no concern except with those matters in which all the citizens of all the States are equally interested; and that those matters in which each neighborhood is alone interested should be under the control of that neighborhood. Thus, as each citizen of the United States is equally interested in a uniform currency of fixed value, and as each citizen of the United States is equally interested in a uniform system of weights and measures, the General Government ought to have control over the currency and the system of weights and measures. The citizen of Texas is as much interested in these as the citizen of Massachusetts is, and the citizen of Massachusetts is as much interested in them as the citizen of Texas is. But the citizen of Massachusetts is not especially interested in the terms and conditions upon which real estate may be passed from one person to another in Texas; nor is the citizen of Texas interested in the regulations that may be prescribed for selling eggs and butter in Massachusetts. These are matters of local concern, over which each community ought to have exclusive control. So the preservation

of order in each community (and under this head it is intended to include all measures for the prevention and punishment of all crimes save those that are violations of some one of the enumerated powers of the General Government) is also properly a matter of local self-government, of which each community should have exclusive control.

Now, let us consider some of the reasons for each one of these two theories.

The Republican party claims that there is a constant and unending conflict in progress between the negroes and the white people of the Southern States, and that it is necessary that the General Government should have power to interfere in that conflict to protect the negro, otherwise the white man will make him the victim of the most diabolical oppression. This I believe to be the entire reason why the Republican party demands that the Government shall have power to interfere in the local affairs of the States. Certainly no persons of any party ever demanded powers of this sort for the General Government until the demand was asserted that the negro should be taken under the protecting wing of the Government. The preceding portion of this essay was devoted to showing that no contest between the races exists when they are let alone; therefore, if the Republican proposition were not one vicious in itself, still no occasion has arisen for resorting to it. The strongest statement of the reasons why the Republican proposition is one vicious in itself, is a statement of the reasons for the proposition of the Democratic party.

The beginnings of all governments of which we have any account, save that of this Union, have been more or less despotic. All the world was at one time more or less barbarous, and amongst barbarians, government means simply power. He who is endowed with sufficient power to subdue others around him to the execution of his will, founds the government which is exercised over his neighbors. In the commencement, therefore, this Government is nothing but the expression of the will of this ruler. In all governments of which we have any account there has been always a constant, never-ending struggle between the citizens upon the one hand and the government upon the other. Upon the part of the citizen the effort has been to curb the powers of the government—to hedge it around with fences and safeguards for his own rights of person and property—to erect dams and bulwarks between his personal rights and the government's powers. Upon the part of the government the effort has been to retain as much power over the citizen's person and property as it can. The history of every nation is nothing but the story of this contest. Every people has its landmarks along the progress of the strife. In the history of the Anglo-Saxon race, some of the most glorious deeds that illustrate the annals of man are monuments to victories achieved by the people over the crown. Magna Charta, the Petition of Right, the great Rebellion, the *habeas corpus* act, the revolution of 1688—all of these are mere eras in the history of this great battle.

At the time when the American colonies threw off their allegiance to the Crown of England, governmental science was in its palmyest days. In the period between it and the Reformation the profoundest minds of the world had been constantly occupied in its consideration. The thinkers of this country had been no less engaged with it than the thinkers of Europe, and the conclusion had been reached that the only province of government was to take care of those matters of a general nature in which all are concerned, leaving matters of a local nature to be cared for as far as possible by local methods.

The bottom reason for this, being the true proposition of governmental science, is that each and every individual has a natural and an inherent right to absolute liberty of thought, and equally to absolute liberty of action, save and except that he must not use his liberty of action so as to trespass upon a right of another person. Now, authority over the individual has a right to restrain his action whenever that action amounts to a trespass upon another's rights ; but when it restrains his liberty of action in what would not be a trespass upon another's rights, it is unjust, and is neither more nor less than tyranny. Naturally those who are nearest to the person who complains that the particular act of an individual injures him, are better able to judge of the merits of the controversy than those at a distance. It therefore follows, that the more narrow the focus of local government is made, so that it be wide enough to accomplish the ends of govern-

ment, the less likely the citizen is to have his natural and inherent right to freedom of action unjustly circumscribed.

Those Americans who framed the Constitution of our government had these principles deeply instilled into their minds, and they determined to frame the government with a strict regard to them. They determined to grant to it control over all those matters in which all the citizens of all parts of the country had an equal interest, but they determined to withhold from it power to interfere in matters in which only the people of the neighborhood were interested. The government which they framed was the perfection of human reason, and in its practical operation it secured the very largest liberty and happiness to the citizen. It was only when the Republican party insisted upon its overthrow, and upon the introduction of the proposition that the General Government should be endowed with power to thrust its interfering hand into all matters of a local nature, at its pleasure, that the harmony of the system has been turned into discord. From the day that proposition was affirmed to be a part of the theory of our Government, our Eden has been turned into Eden after the introduction of sin.

Prior to the war between the sections, no sane man would have claimed that the Government of the United States had any power whatever to interfere with the local affairs of any community. It is only since the war that the claim has been asserted for it, and that claim is based upon the Fourteenth Amendment to the

Constitution of the United States, which was proposed in Congress in 1866, and declared to be adopted as a part of the Constitution in 1868, and it is upon the following provisions of that amendment: "No State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States, nor shall any State deprive any person of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws.

"Congress shall have power to enforce the provisions of this amendment by appropriate legislation."

It is claimed that the entire theory of the Government was overthrown, and a new theory adopted, when this amendment was incorporated as a part of the Constitution. I do not believe that the people of the United States would ever have permitted it to become a part of their Constitution, if they had understood that such momentous consequences were to be claimed from its adoption. Had they understood it, their answer, like that of the English barons of old, would have been, "Nolumus leges Americæ mutare."

The people of New York never would have agreed that the Congress of the United States might enact a law providing that, upon the complaint of a citizen of Texas, a citizen of the interior of the State of New York might be seized by a United States marshal, hauled off to Texas and tried there, away from friends and witnesses, before a United States judge, and locked up forever in a Texas penitentiary. Yet just

this the Republican party claims that the Fourteenth Amendment has empowered Congress to do, and just this claim the Republican Supreme Court sustains.

It is useless to deny that the decisions that the court made go this length. It is idle to say that they do not authorize Congress to have a citizen dragged out of his own State into another for trial. The court expressly announces the proposition, that the methods for securing to citizens the equal protection of the laws are left to Congress, and if it had not announced the proposition, it inevitably flowed from the decision that they made. Its decision was, that Congress might provide that a citizen of New York, charged with having committed a crime in an extreme eastern county of the State of New York, might be hauled off for trial before a United States court sitting in an extreme western county of the State. Now, there is no obligation resting upon Congress to have a United States court for New York. It may provide that the business proper, for a United States court, arising in the State of New York may be transacted in a United States court held in Pennsylvania. So that it may be provided that the New Yorker, charged with having committed a crime in the extreme eastern part of the State of New York, may be summoned for trial before the United States court in Pennsylvania. And if it may be provided that he can be carried there, he may then be equally carried to Texas.

The inconsistency of the Supreme Court in its construction of this amendment is utterly incomprehensi-

ble to plain men. It first came before it for construction in the famous Slaughter House cases, reported in 16th Wallace. In that case the material facts were these : The carpet-bag Legislature of Louisiana had established one of the most odious monopolies that ever disgraced the statute-book of any people. It had given sixteen men the exclusive right of slaughtering all animals used for food in the parishes of Orleans, Jefferson, and St. Bernard, containing 1154 square miles and between two and three hundred thousand people—containing the City of Orleans. It practically took away from the butchers of New Orleans, of whom there were more than a thousand, their means of livelihood, and left them and their families to subsist as best they could under the tribute that they were forced to pay these sixteen monopolists. How much was paid this Legislature to pass this law I know not. The butchers at once attacked the act in the courts of Louisiana as forbidden by the clause of the Fourteenth Amendment quoted, because it abridged the privileges and immunities of citizens of the United States, and deprived them of the equal protection of the laws. The Louisiana courts being composed of judges that were a part of the same carpet-bag government, decided against them, and they carried their case to the Supreme Court of the United States. And what will the unlearned reader, who has informed himself of what that court held the Fourteenth Amendment to mean, in the cases that I have been remarking on, think that it held in this butchers' case? It held that

the Louisiana law did not deprive citizens of the equal protection of the laws, and that the only privileges and immunities of citizens that it was intended by it to protect were those privileges and immunities that a citizen has in virtue of his character as a citizen of the United States—such as the right to petition Congress, the right to protection on the high seas, and the right to travel from one State to another. But that all the ordinary matters of personal right—those fundamental matters of citizenship, without which human liberty cannot exist—were left by the amendment outside the pale of its protection. To his eternal honor be it said, that, though a Democrat of the strictest sect, Mr. Justice Stephen J. Field protested against this emasculation of the amendment. This decision was made in 1872, when General Grant and the Republican party were administering the Government pretty much to suit themselves, and without the slightest regard to the Constitution, so that many persons will feel disposed to sympathize with the court in its endeavor to curb the powers of the Government. But if this odious destruction of the very existence of citizens was not forbidden by the Fourteenth Amendment, because to hold so would have been to make an unwarrantable invasion into the scope of the State Government, how is it to be said that securing to citizens the equal protection of the laws authorizes Congress to absolutely destroy all State governments? The substance of the recent decisions was that Congress might do what it thought proper to secure to citizens the equal protec-

tion of the laws when they were being denied them. But if this were true, was not the Supreme Court bound to destroy any State law which was palpably denying to citizens equal protection of the laws?

Since such radical results have been worked by incorporating this amendment into the Constitution, I may be pardoned for giving the history of its adoption.

In 1868, when it was proclaimed to have been adopted, the Union consisted of thirty-seven States. The Constitution requires the assent of three fourths of the States of the Union to an amendment before it can become a part of that instrument. On the 21st of July, 1868, Congress passed a joint resolution, declaring that three fourths of the States having ratified the amendment, it had become a part of the Constitution; and on the 28th of July the Secretary of State made public proclamation to the same effect. The Union consisted of thirty-seven States at that time, Colorado having been admitted since; and twenty-seven and three quarters being three fourths of thirty-seven, it consequently required the assent of twenty-eight States to make the amendment a part of the Constitution. When it was submitted to the Legislatures of the States, the following voted for its adoption, to wit: Alabama, Arkansas, Connecticut, Florida, Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Kansas, Louisiana, Maine, Massachusetts, Michigan, Minnesota, Missouri, Nebraska, Nevada, New Hampshire, New Jersey, New York, Ohio, Oregon, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, Tennessee,

Vermont, and West Virginia. These, all told, amounted to only twenty-six, two less than enough to adopt it. But almost as soon as the States of New Jersey and Ohio voted to ratify it, they rescinded their votes, and that long before enough of the other States had ratified it to make three fourths of all, so that they are properly to be put down as States voting against it. The States that voted to reject it were New Jersey, Ohio, Kentucky, Maryland, Delaware, Georgia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Texas, and Virginia. The States of California, Wisconsin, and Mississippi took no action upon it, and are, therefore, to be considered as voting to reject it. The count, therefore, stood twenty-four States voting to ratify the amendment and thirteen voting to reject it. On this count, therefore, it was lost for want of the votes of four States.

In this condition of affairs, Congress passed an act which provided that the so-called "Rebel" States should be parcelled out into five military districts, with an army officer not below the rank of brigadier-general to command each district. The act made this officer supreme dictator in his district. All the laws of each State in his district were subject to his will, and might be repealed by his order. He was empowered to authorize the local tribunals to sit and try civil causes and persons accused of crime; but he might, in his discretion, supersede these tribunals in either case, and substitute military commissions for them. The only limitation upon the power of this officer was a provision that he was not to inflict capital punish-

ment without the sanction of the President. It is hard to contemplate the provisions of this act, at this distant day, without a shudder. It placed the liberties, and the fortunes, and the lives, to a certain extent, of all the citizens of the Southern States, absolutely under the whims and caprices of a military satrap.

This act contained a further provision, that when any one of the States affected by it should have ratified the Fourteenth Amendment, that State should become entitled to a representation in Congress, and the provisions of the act should no longer be applicable to it. It is not difficult to imagine that these States would have hastened to ratify this amendment, or to do things far more serious than that to escape from the situation in which this law placed them. Accordingly, the States of Georgia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Texas, and Virginia reversed the action which their Legislatures had previously taken upon it, and ratified the amendment. This made twenty-nine States voting to adopt it, against eight voting against its adoption. In this way the Fourteenth Amendment, which is held to have worked a complete overthrow of our institutions and a complete revolution in the theory of our Government, was incorporated into the Constitution of the United States. If that amendment were not in the Constitution of the United States, no living man would claim that Congress has any power to meddle in the local affairs of a State; and yet it is in the Constitution by the proceedings that have been detailed.

I venture the assertion that no such radical change as this was ever worked in the institutions of any people with the semblance of a constitutional government, by such means.

It might be well for the people of the North to ponder on this state of facts. If the Constitution may be amended by such proceedings as these, the poisoned chalice may be commended to their own lips. Massachusetts and New York might be converted into Military District No. 1, and held thus until they gave their approval to a constitutional amendment abandoning their just weight in the Federal Government.

Now, notwithstanding all I have said, I am yet a friend to the Fourteenth Amendment, if only one of its provisions were stricken from it, to wit: its fifth section, which gives to Congress power to enforce its provisions by appropriate legislation. There has been no grander declaration of human rights since Magna Charta than the first section of the Fourteenth Amendment. Previous to the time of its adoption, there was no definition of citizenship of the United States—indeed, some of the foremost statesmen that the Union had ever had, had denied that there could be a citizenship of the United States, further than that citizenship inhered in the individual by reason of his citizenship of his State. This was an evil which ought to have been cured. No one, therefore, can object to the provision which defines what shall constitute citizenship of the Union. It is right that the States should be inhibited to abridge those privileges and immunities of

a citizen which are fundamental, and without which true liberty cannot exist. No State or other authority ought to be permitted to deny to any person the equal protection of the laws, nor ought any person to be deprived of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law. As general propositions of great value, no sensible person could be found who would dispute these; and most, if not all, enlightened Democrats would admit themselves glad to see these provisions in the Constitution of the United States if they stood there simply as provisions prohibitory upon the power of the States, without the fifth clause empowering Congress to enforce them by such legislation as it might think proper. The Constitution, as it came from the hands of its framers, contained numerous provisions prohibiting certain classes of legislation to the States, such as the prohibition of laws impairing the obligation of contracts, the granting of titles of nobility, the making of bills of credit, etc. Yet it gave Congress no legislative power over these subjects in case the States should legislate in defiance of the Constitutional prohibitions. The Federal judiciary was provided as the guard to the Constitution, and given power to annul and undo whatever the States should attempt to do in opposition to its mandates.

From the beginning of the Government down to the period when the late civil war terminated, this instrumentality was found abundant for the preservation of the Constitution, and for holding State legislation within the limits assigned to it.

Now, if the provisions of the first section of the Fourteenth Amendment simply forbade State Governments to do the things specified there, and left it to the Federal judiciary to annul and destroy any action of the State Governments which was in defiance of those provisions, few, if any persons, could be found to quarrel with that amendment. Every good which could possibly flow from it would be secured to the citizen, and the theory of our Government of a Republic of States would still be preserved. But the Republican theory will demand more. It will not be content with a plan which makes void whatever is attempted in contravention of the Constitution. It will have Congress empowered to legislate and enforce its legislation whenever a blind and ignorant majority of partisans may think, in their crude considerations of the nature of government, a case has arisen for central interference with local administration of affairs. This is neither more nor less than despotism. It is a central government without limitations upon its powers, which completely fulfils the idea of despotism.

Recently my eye fell upon the following admirable letter, written by General Bradley T. Johnson, of the Baltimore (Md.) bar, to the editor of the Dubuque (Iowa) *Herald*. It is full of such sound common-sense and practical statesmanship, in its views touching the Southern question, that I print it here in full. Colonel D. B. Henderson had made a speech in Iowa, in which he said what follows here ; and the editor of the *Herald* had inclosed it to General Johnson to know if he was correctly reported. The extract and the letter follow :

Extract from a speech of Col. D. B. Henderson, at Waterloo, August 11th, 1880.

“In this connection, although I do not desire to tell stories, I will relate an incident which happened when I was down in Washington during the trial of the Washburne-Donnelly case. I was introduced to Gen. Johnson, of Baltimore, who was there defending Donnelly. He was a Confederate general of note, and has become an eminent lawyer. Said I to him, ‘General, what will be the outcome of the Southern question? Will the negroes and white Republicans be allowed to vote?’ Said he, ‘I will be frank with you, for it is time there was a better understanding between us. I tell you that we intend to give the negro his personal, property, and educational rights, but not his political rights. I asked what his personal rights meant, and he said he referred to his family relations. I said, ‘In States where the negroes are in a majority, what will you do?’ ‘We can’t allow them to vote.’ ‘But suppose they demand it?’ ‘We can’t help it; they can’t vote.’ He then proceeded to discuss the question with me, and added, ‘We have made up our minds, and we might as well understand each other. The negroes in the South cannot exercise their political rights.’ I then said to him that the book I had been reading—Judge Tougee’s ‘Fool’s Errand’—was true then. He said, while not admitting the philosophy of it, the statements were true to the letter. That, my friends, is the position of the Democratic party in the South to-day. It is only another mode of accomplishing in peace what they failed to accomplish by war.”

“WHITE SULPHUR SPRINGS, WEST VIRGINIA, *August 28.*

“To the Editor of the Dubuque Herald.

“Dear Sir: Your letter of the 17th was forwarded to me here. You inclose what purports to be a report of a speech said to have been made by Col. D. B. Henderson, in which Col. Henderson is said to have stated that I told him, in a conversation in Washington, last spring, that ‘We intend to give the negro his personal, property, and educational rights, but not his political rights,’ and you ask me to state if his statement is correct. Assuming that Col. Henderson is correctly reported, I have to say that he misun-

derstood and misapplied the conversation I then had with him. I am not surprised at this, for the ideas I then suggested were evidently new to him, and in the interview between us, lasting only a short time, it could not be expected that a perfect stranger could at once take in and apply the suggestions then made to him by a person unknown to him before, when these suggestions were made from a standpoint entirely novel and unexpected. I recollect the scope and purpose of our conversation perfectly. Col. Henderson was an intelligent Republican from an extreme Western State, and I thought I could really be of service by imparting to him what I believe to be the heartfelt purposes of our Southern ex-Confederate people. I said that the question with us in the South was a social, fundamental question, not at all connected with temporary partisan issues which interest the other States. Social order, civilization, property, education, and progress were all involved in our political action. The framework of our society had been shattered from turret to base, and political power thrust into the hands of those inexperienced and incompetent to use it, and we were required to solve the problem whether society could exist when all the power of government was wielded by the ignorant, the uneducated, and the inexperienced members of it. I said the forces that control a State are virtue, intelligence, property, and manhood, and that no device could be invented, no constitutional amendment, nor Congressional enactment be applied, which could change this order of nature.

“ When society is left to itself, uncontrolled by exterior force, these vital forces will direct and govern it. Therefore, I said, the negro could not control any portion of the Southern States. The whites would govern these States always and under all circumstances, not because they are white, but because they possess those attributes which the other race is deficient in. I said *we*, the whites, would secure the negro all his rights of person and of property; *we* would insure his education and development; *we* would protect him from his own ignorance and inexperience. Left alone, he had proved himself incapable of standing unsupported. But, I said, under all circumstances, we will retain the

control of society in the hands of the whites, because all the forces of society inhere in and pertain to the whites. I said numerical majorities of blacks in localities will not prevent this. Power goes to the hands that can use it, and mere numerical power never has controlled and never will control society. Women and children make up the large majority, but power is in the hands of the minority of adult men. Where the blacks have numerical majorities, means will be found to control them. Limitations of the franchise by property or educational tests, or by capitation taxes, or by divisions geographical, will be applied, and thus the political power of negro majorities will be destroyed or neutralized. I can well understand how Col. Henderson could have misapplied my remarks. I was talking of the inherent, irresistible forces which control society, above constitutions, laws, or political arrangements. He was thinking of the mere voting, and the devices resorted to by which these forces may best govern it. I now repeat, that under no circumstances will any American State, whether it be Iowa or South Carolina, of its own free will, permit itself to be governed by the ignorant, incompetent, and inexperienced classes within it. If some future exodus should flood your fair State with Southern negroes or Eastern Chinese, the Republican and Democratic parties of Iowa would shrivel up like parchment in the fire. They would cease to be, and every white man in Iowa would unite in an earnest effort to preserve the civilization, the society, and the moral tone of that social organization which has placed her among the foremost of the American commonwealths.

“ Allow me to make a further remark. If the Northern Republicans could be got to understand and appreciate the real difficulties of the Southern question, and the real sentiments and aspirations of the Southern people, we could undoubtedly all be enabled to turn our attention to the discussion and development of great propositions which confront us all alike, and on which the future happiness and prosperity of all alike depend. I ask them, Put yourselves in our place ; we are opposed to secession ; we are for an indissoluble Union ; we will never consent to slavery in any form, direct or indirect. Now, these things granted, put yourselves in

our place, with a class among you, sometimes outnumbering you, always formidable in numbers, on whom political power has been forced without preparation or fitness—would you not do precisely as we are doing, and would not the white people of Iowa retain their control over their schools, their taxes, their courts, their county and State governments? Would not their wit, their intelligence, their power of organization, more than counterbalance mere numbers? I take it that the anti-Chinese plank of the Chicago platform, for which, doubtless, Col. Henderson voted, is a public confession by the Republican party that its dogma of race equality is false, and a public retraction of all its old errors on that article of its faith. No man can assert that the Chinaman, with his four thousand years of civilization, is not more fit for the duties of American citizenship than the Southern negro. I assert that the South is as thoroughly union and anti-slavery, to-day, as Iowa or New England. Emancipation has brought to her material development, of which you now only see the dawn. The largest crop of slave-grown cotton was five million bales; this year our crop will be six and a quarter millions. The cost of cotton to the Massachusetts manufacturer is 18 per cent greater than to the South Carolina or Georgia manufacturer. This difference in prime cost has quadrupled the factories in the South, while New England languishes, and the spindles of Lowell and Fall River are even now in movement to Columbia and Augusta. Some of the States and many of our cities exempt manufacturers from taxation for terms of years, and the next census will show results which you would now deem incredible.

“The late Confederate States are larger by 100,000 square miles than all the free States east of the Rocky Mountains, and there is more public land subject to entry in many of them than in any of your Western States. Florida is as large as New York, New Jersey, and Connecticut. Texas is as large as all New England, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and Ohio. We are trying to settle these great States, to develop their imperial resources; we have climate, area, and a productive soil. We want men and money, population and capital. To get them we require peace and order. We can

secure them only in the Union and of the Union. Its power, its prestige, its boundless resources are ten times more necessary for us than for the opulent and populous States. Therefore, we are resolved to support and maintain the Union forever, under every contingency, against all attacks, whether from within or without. Our policy is peace and union. They are the necessities of our being and progress. Our aspirations are for railroads, telegraphs, printing-presses, and school-houses. They are toward commerce and trade, the arts, the sciences, and literature. Every energy and all our thoughts will be directed for several generations toward development, material and intellectual, toward progress and a higher culture under one government with free and liberal institutions. We will maintain the Constitution and all its amendments, because we intend that all parts of the country shall be open to all American citizens with equality of rights, and that no future party shall arise to prohibit negro emigration to any State, as the Republican party has just prohibited Chinese emigration to all the States. We do not intend to have the blacks cooped up and fenced in the States where they now congregate. Our policy extends far beyond the mere temporary partisan issues. There is no South and North, there may hereafter be an East and West. But when the farmer of the great West gets to understand that down the Mississippi Valley lie lands which may be had for the asking, whose fertility is such that a laborer in agriculture can produce from six hundred to a thousand dollars per capita, net, per annum, you will see such a movement of population that in the next ten years will work miracles. As this movement of free institutions and free labor goes on, the world will witness the development of a great people and a great empire.

“The commerce of the world lies within our grasp. Mexico, South America, the new-found continent of Africa, all require our products of cotton and tobacco, of our mines and our great factories. The American flag now is as unknown in these seas as that of the republic of San Marino. Norwegian ships come up the James River and carry off Virginia freights. Italian vessels, Dutch skippers, and English steamers engross the trade of Charles-

ton, Savannah, and New Orleans. The policy and laws of the Government for the last twenty years have destroyed the American mercantile marine. We will repeal the laws which have produced these results. We will purchase ships on the Clyde or the Delaware, or wherever we can buy them best, and we will carry on our own commerce in our ships, under our own flag, and that flag shall be the Stars and Stripes. I have taken some space to answer your simple inquiry, but I have tried, in doing so, to put in a clear light the real questions which interest you and us. I have tried to show that we have a deeper, wider, larger interest than you, in maintaining the Union with the Constitution as amended ; that our necessity for peace and union is greater than yours, and that we are intent on preserving the one and maintaining the other. When we get this understood we can unite in the examination of economical problems and of systems of taxation and finance, of policies of commerce, and of social laws, and remit the consideration of the rebels and the Ku-klux to those who go on 'fools' errands,' and then vex the public by their clatter in telling about them.

Yours respectfully,

“ BRADLEY T. JOHNSON.”

ADDENDUM.



IN October, 1880, the New York *Sun* called attention to the report of the "Frauds Commission," and invoked Mr. Tourgee's attention to it. Whilst this work was going through the press my attention was called to a letter from A. W. Tourgee to the New York *Sun*, in the columns of that journal for December 9, in which he gives an explanation of his connection with these matters. I will allow him to state that explanation here in his own words. In his letter to the *Sun* he says :

"Mr. Swepson says that he paid these sums to me at the request of Mr. Littlefield. I know nothing of any arrangement between them or of the fund to which it is charged, except what there appears. The following are the facts in relation to the two sums named :

"In the spring of 1868, as one of the secretaries of the Republican State Committee, I was directed by Mr. Swepson to draw on him for a certain sum for campaign expenses. Accordingly, some time early in April, the election being on the 20th of that month, having need of that sum to pay the expenses of certain speakers, I drew on Mr. Swepson for \$200. This draft was protested. I did not learn of the protest until some time afterward, and then wrote to Mr. Swepson in regard to it, and it was paid. I have no idea why it was charged to Littlefield, as I never had any communication with him in regard to the matter, and did not know that he had any knowledge of it until I read the testimony of Mr. Swepson.

"The second was in this wise : In June or July, 1869, I learned that a piece of property I was very anxious to have would be sold

for cash. Not having the money, I went to the owner, Mr. J. A. Gray, a prominent banker and active Democrat of Greensboro, N. C., where I have resided ever since the war, and obtained the refusal of the property for a few days, telling him that I would try to borrow the money from Mr. Swepson. Mr. Swepson had been my first client after going to North Carolina, and I had had some other business relations with him before my election to the bench in the spring of 1868. He had once intimated that he would lend me the money to buy this property. I went to Raleigh, and there learned that Mr. Swepson was in New York. Happening to see Mr. Littlefield, I mentioned my disappointment and my fear that I would lose the property. He at once said he would arrange it for me. He therefore took my notes, payable semi-annually in alternate sums of \$400 and \$600, to meet my prospective means of payment, with interest at 8 per cent, and gave me a sight draft on Mr. Swepson for the amount required, \$3500. He said he had no doubt that Mr. Swepson would be willing to lend me the money, and he would indorse the notes to him. I told him I would secure them by mortgage on the property. Accordingly the notes were not stamped, but marked according to the law as it then was: 'To be secured by mortgage of real estate duly stamped.' Mr. Littlefield said he would let me know in whose favor Swepson desired the mortgage to be drawn. As the notes were negotiable and the check was not money, a memorandum of the transaction was made and signed and witnessed by a gentleman who was present. It is still in my possession. I returned to Greensboro, assigned Littlefield's draft on Swepson to Mr. Gray, directed the deed to be made out, and went off on my circuit. On my return Mr. Gray told me the draft had been protested. I wrote to Littlefield for the return of my notes. The reply was a note from Swepson to send on the draft, which was done, and he paid it, also the protest fees. Some time afterwards I saw Mr. Littlefield, and told him I was ready to execute the mortgage. He said that Swepson had refused to loan the money on such long time, and he had been compelled to arrange for the payment of the draft himself, but he hoped Swepson would take the notes when

they came to a settlement, and then the mortgage could be made to him. These notes were given in good faith, and I considered them *bona fide* debts. The transaction was an open one, known to a dozen or more parties, and made without any attempt at concealment.

“I was afterwards served with a garnishment by creditors of Littlefield, suing in the Superior Court of Wake County, and made answer admitting the indebtedness, which I had never denied or concealed. Pending this litigation came the commercial panic of 1873. Being largely engaged in manufacturing, I was caught short, and, to secure my creditors, mortgaged all my property, which was insufficient to meet the liabilities of my business. In consequence of this, I suppose, the garnishment was not pressed. Some years afterward, when their collection had been barred by limitations, the notes were surrendered to me by Mr. Swepson.”

Upon this the *Sun* made the following delicious comments in its editorial columns :

“His explanation of the second entry, \$3,502.55, is less simple. An alleged business transaction of rather complicated nature is involved. Mr. Tourgee’s narrative of the alleged facts must be carefully perused in order to understand the defence at all. To the best of our comprehension, it is admitted by Mr. Tourgee that he received \$3500 which ultimately came from Swepson, through Littlefield’s friendly offices, and that this alleged loan was never repaid by himself.

“The objection that will probably be made to both of these explanations, as answers to the charge, is that much more roundabout methods have before this been used by clever men to cover corrupt dealings. If Mr. Tourgee were able to show that he ever, in any form, repaid the alleged loan of \$3500, the case would be different.

“On the other hand, the theory of Mr. Tourgee’s innocence of wrong doing is not wholly inconsistent with the proved facts. We are glad to put special emphasis on this point. To make the the-

ory of innocence accord with the admitted facts, however, it is necessary to allow for a series of coincidences of an extraordinary character. Mr. Tourgee wants to borrow money to buy some land. He thinks of applying to Mr. Swepson, who happened to be his political and personal friend. Mr. Swepson happens at this time to be spending hundreds of thousands of dollars for the purchase of politicians. Mr. Tourgee happens to mention his desire to Mr. Littlefield, a notorious and professional corruptionist, who happens to be Mr. Swepson's agent in the purchase of State officials. Mr. Littlefield happens to be in a mood which leads him to undertake to arrange Mr. Tourgee's business with Mr. Tourgee's personal friend Swepson. Mr. Tourgee happens to be undergoing a phase of folly which inclines him to accept the offer of this notorious person. Between Swepson and Littlefield the money is found for Mr. Tourgee, who profits by it. Business embarrassments happen, which prevent Mr. Tourgee from repaying the obligation. And finally, through the most unfortunate of a long train of unfortunate circumstances, the transaction, by an unaccountable mistake, gets recorded in the private corruption account kept between Swepson and Littlefield."

But the transaction will bear even closer inspection than the *Sun* has given it.

The substance of it is this : Tourgee, wanting \$3500, mentions that fact casually to Littlefield. Littlefield says he shall have the money ; that he (Littlefield) will draw a draft for the amount on Swepson. Tourgee says, If you will, I will give my notes for it, which I will secure by a deed of trust on the property that I am going to pay for with it. All right, says Littlefield, and he draws his draft on Swepson for \$3500, payable to the order of Tourgee, and Tourgee takes this draft and gives it to Gray in payment for the property.

The draft comes back protested. Tourgee reports that fact to Littlefield, and Littlefield answers with a note from Swepson, directing the draft to be forwarded, which is done, and he pays it. Some time afterwards Tourgee meets Littlefield, and tells him he is ready to execute that deed to secure Swepson payment of the notes which he supposed Littlefield had transferred to him, whereupon Littlefield tells him that Swepson would not take the notes, and that he, Littlefield, had been compelled to raise the money for him, and that the debt is due by Tourgee to himself. Further discussion as to securing the debt by a deed of trust seems to have been abandoned, Littlefield being content to waive that, and being satisfied with Tourgee's personal obligation. In time Littlefield fails, and Tourgee fails, and by some process left wholly unexplained, Littlefield transfers Tourgee's notes to Swepson. When we next hear of the notes they are brought by Swepson to Tourgee, and surrendered to him without consideration.

Now, the first inquiry that naturally strikes the mind is, Why should Littlefield, upon whom Tourgee had no claims, have volunteered to draw his draft for Tourgee's benefit, for so large a sum as \$3500? A letter to Swepson, urging him to let Tourgee have the money, would have done all that a draft could do. Why should he have thus become Tourgee's indorser? Secondly, if he were going to do so disinterested a thing, as we are bound on Tourgee's statement to believe that he did, why should he have drawn his draft on a person in whose hands he had no funds? Swep-

son's refusal to pay the draft was proof that Littlefield had no funds in his hands. And third, as he was going to do so liberal and disinterested a thing, why, of all men in the world, should he have selected Swepson, with whom he had his corrupt bargain for bribing the Legislature, as the man to draw on? The next thing that arrests attention is this: Why should Littlefield have been "*compelled* to arrange for the payment of the draft himself?" Tourgee had no claims of any sort whatever on Littlefield. Littlefield had simply volunteered, out of pure and simple friendship, to help him forward in getting a loan from Swepson. When the draft came back protested, Littlefield's course was to say to Tourgee, "Well, old fellow, I've done all I could to enable you to get a loan from Swepson, but it seems that he won't lend. I'm sorry for you; you must arrange the matter with Gray." He was not "*compelled*" to make any arrangements to take the draft up, unless Gray demanded it, and it is not averred that he did. No money had been obtained on it; it had simply been assigned to Gray to be payment for his property, in case Swepson honored it; to be nothing in case he did not. Gray, in the mean time, held on to his property, so that he was not damaged by Swepson's refusal to pay, except to the extent of the loss of a sale. Littlefield, therefore, was under no obligation, except obligations to Tourgee, the consideration of which, Tourgee best knows, to take up the draft when it came back protested, and pay the amount of it to Gray, in the absence of any demand by Gray.

Next, why should Swepson, after Tourgee's notes came to be his property, have made Tourgee a present of them? The impression is sought to be made, that Littlefield passed them off to Swepson in payment of money that he owed him. If so, then Tourgee became Swepson's debtor to the amount of the notes. Why should Swepson have released him from the debt without consideration? Mr. Tourgee suggests the idea that they were barred by the statute of limitations, and that Swepson made him a present of them because they had become worthless. Fie, Mr. Tourgee! Would you have us believe that your character, among your friends, was at so low an ebb that they looked upon a *bona fide* debt due by you, but barred by the statute of limitations, as utterly worthless—as no better than old rags, or not so good? You, too, who contained in yourself an embodiment of the great "moral ideas" party, and who, from pure conviction of duty alone, had taken upon yourself the missionary obligation of saving and regenerating the barbarous people of North Carolina. But, aside from this view, so derogatory to Mr. Tourgee, let us consider for a moment how Swepson would have viewed it. We all know that in practical life creditors do not surrender to their debtors evidences of debt, because they may happen to be barred by the statute of limitations. They hold on to them in the hope that something may turn up, through which they may realize something. But supposing the notes were barred, still Swepson would not have surrendered them without consideration,

unless he had been a fool. When the notes were given, it was with an agreement written out on the face of the notes, that they should be secured by a deed of trust. Now, though the statute might have run against the notes, yet it would not have run against the deed, which would, under the laws of most States, have taken the notes under its protection. *City of Kenosha v. Lamson*, 9 Wallace ; *City of Lexington v. Butler*, 14 Wallace. I do not mean to express an opinion, that Swepson, by bringing a suit in equity to compel Tourgee to execute the deed of trust, could have thus cut him out of his plea of the statute ; but I do mean to say, that ninety-nine lawyers out of every hundred to whom he might have applied for advice, would have told him that there was too much show for his winning, for him to throw away his notes.

Finally, why should Swepson have charged this money in the corruption account between himself and Littlefield—and charged it, too, at the very moment when it was advanced? It is not suggested that he was an enemy to Tourgee, and inspired by a desire to injure him ; on the contrary, Tourgee represents him to have been his friend. Yet, if it did not belong to the corruption account, it is difficult to conceive of any other inspiration that could have induced him to put it there.

The memorandum of the transaction that was made by Tourgee at the time, and signed by a witness, is not entitled to a feather's weight. If the transaction was intended as a device for concealing a payment for

lobby services, just some such trick as this would have been resorted to, to conceal the matter. If the thing had been perfectly fair, and such a matter as was fit for the light of day, the chances would have been against the making of any such memorandum to be signed by a witness. It would have been wholly unnecessary, and would necessarily have been an indication of distrust of Littlefield.

He (Littlefield) had acted in the matter nothing but the part of a disinterested friend, involving his credit to a certain extent for his friend, without consideration; and after his friendly interposition, for Tourgee to have turned on him and said, "We must have all this in writing and witnessed," would have been a poor return to make him.

Mr. Tourgee will have to make a very different explanation from that which he has made, before the public will believe that he has disconnected himself from Swepson and Littlefield and their corrupt arrangement. The multitude of disconnected facts upon which his explanation is made to turn, reminds one of Artemus Ward's reply to the Mormon ladies: "Yes, ladies, it is the *muchness* of the thing that I object to." The "*muchness*" of Mr. Tourgee's explanation will be sure to arrest attention.

REJOINDER TO TOURGEE'S REVIEW AND ANSWER IN THE NEW YORK TRIBUNE.

ON the 31st of January, 1881, the *New York Tribune* published a communication from A. W. Tourgee, four columns in length, reviewing and answering the preceding pages of this reply. It was full of misrepresentations, all made with a view to bolstering up the previous misrepresentations contained in "A Fool's Errand." As soon as I could, I prepared a Rejoinder to that, exposing Mr. Tourgee's attempted frauds, which I sent to the *Tribune*, claiming, as a matter of simple justice, that it should allow the other side to be heard, after publishing Mr. Tourgee's injurious statements. My article would have made about—possibly a little more than—five columns. It was substantially what the following pages contain, though I have added to it since what would make possibly two columns and a half of the *Tribune*. The *Tribune* refused to publish my Rejoinder, upon the ground that it could not afford the space. It held out a hope that it might possibly publish it if I would reduce it to what would make about a column and a half. I should have been perfectly willing to strike out of my Rejoinder whatever was simply comment and remark; but Mr. Tourgee's article had challenged the truth of my general propositions, and it was therefore necessary that I should produce the evidence somewhat in detail that would prove them. If I

did this I would be accomplishing something of value ; it would have been better to leave matters as they were than to do less. No candid person can read the following pages and say that the material contained in them could be put into two columns of the *Tribune* so as to be of any value whatever. The controversy is over matters of fact, and to form an enlightened judgment on questions of disputed fact it is necessary to hear the evidence. The evidence cannot be curtailed without making it incomplete, and to state it fully requires more space than two columns.

The *Tribune* had voluntarily permitted its columns to be brought into this controversy. With nothing calling for it except a supposed desire to have the truth known, it had permitted Mr. Tourgee to use four of its columns to make further misrepresentations in aid of his previous slanders. If it could not afford space to a full discussion of the subject, it should have reflected upon that fact before it permitted Tourgee to make it an instrument for a fraud upon the public. But having allowed him, through its columns, to do an injury to defenceless people, it owed it to them, and it owed it to itself, to allow those people to show through the same medium that they had been slandered and wronged ; or else it had as well have prepared itself for the judgment which candid men must have for its course.

It has heretofore been thought that the *Tribune* was a partisan journal, but many persons have been unwilling to believe that it would wilfully and knowingly misrepresent to another's injury. I express no opinion

now upon this point, but I will say that ordinary fairness would seem to have demanded of the *Tribune* that it should have allowed the use of its columns in a reasonable way to people who claimed that it had allowed those columns to be made a vehicle for slandering and injuring them.

To the Editor of the Tribune.

SIR: About the beginning of January, E. J. Hale & Son of New York City published for me a Reply to "A Fool's Errand, by one of the Fools." In the *Tribune* for January 31st there is a four-column communication from A. W. Tourgee, the author of "A Fool's Errand," reviewing and replying to my work, to which I propose now to make a Rejoinder. Mr. Tourgee's communication has reduced the issue between us to a very narrow point, and on that issue I confidently believe I shall receive from the public a verdict, as the result of overwhelming and crushing evidence that I shall now adduce. In order that we may know just what the question is that we are to try, I shall ask the indulgence of your readers while I give some account of the controversy.

In "A Fool's Errand" Mr. Tourgee has undertaken to paint a portrait of life and manners in the Southern States of this Union. He has represented that during a number of years since the war the entire body of white people in those States who sympathized with the Confederacy were leagued together in a conspiracy to murder and exterminate the negro population of those

States. He represents that they were and are actuated by a bitter, savage, and unyielding hatred of the negro, viewed as a member of society ; and the lesson which he would draw is that the Central Government must protect the negro from his old master, or that old master will inflict upon him torture more cruel than the Comanche visits upon his victim, and finally exterminate him. He has very graphically narrated the details of many murders and outrages most foul, and he would have the world believe that such things are of daily occurrence, and are applauded by the entire white population that were in sympathy with the Confederacy. He has represented also that those people extend their sentiments of malignant hatred to all persons of Northern birth.

I have replied to this, denying all his charges in general, and in detail so far as he would seek to make his details sustain his general propositions. I have admitted, what no candid Southerner will deny, that during what is known as the period of Reconstruction, in all the Southern States there was violence, bloodshed, and outrage ; but I have undertaken to prove that that violence and outrage was the natural and inevitable result of the condition of things which the General Government forced upon those States during that period. I have endeavored to give a true and exact picture of the condition of things in those States during that time, the main features of which I will here repeat.

With the exception of a small portion of the mountainous region of the South, the entire white population

of the Confederate States were deep, earnest, and ardent sympathizers with the cause of the Confederacy. The people of the North will not believe this, and yet it is as true as the Gospel itself. After the first battle of Manassas there were not twenty-five white persons in any Southern State who did not sympathize heart and soul with the Confederacy. Let him who maintains the contrary of this name the individuals in excess of twenty-five in any State, and I will undertake to prove what I say.

This white population were terribly in earnest in their fight. They were conscientious. They believed that they were fighting for the right, and they cheerfully staked everything that they had on earth upon the result; and what I am now going to say the Northern people likewise will not believe, and yet it is equally true—to wit: When they made their fight and were beaten, *they surrendered and abandoned their cause without reserve.* They considered the surrender of their arms as a seal to the following compact: That no party to the Union should ever again assert a claim to a right of secession, and that slavery should forever be at an end.

The best possible proof of this is the testimony voluntarily furnished by General U. S. Grant.

In 1865, very soon after the war was ended, he made a tour through the Southern States, and this was his report to the President of what he learned and saw:

HEADQUARTERS ARMIES OF THE UNITED STATES, }
 WASHINGTON, D. C., Dec. 18, 1865. }

"To His Excellency ANDREW JOHNSON,
President of the United States.

"SIR: In reply to your note of the 16th inst., requesting a report from me giving such information as I may be possessed of, coming within the scope of the inquiries made by the Senate of the United States in their resolution of the 12th inst., I have the honor to submit the following :

"With your approval, and also that of the honorable Secretary of War, I left Washington City on the 27th of last month for the purpose of making a tour of inspection through some of the Southern States, or States lately in rebellion, and to see what changes were necessary to be made in the disposition of the military forces of the country ; how these forces could be reduced and expenses curtailed, etc., etc., and to learn, as far as possible, the feelings and intentions of the citizens of these States toward the General Government.

"Both in travelling and while stopping, I saw much and conversed freely with the citizens of those States, as well as with officers of the army who have been stationed among them. The following are the conclusions come to by me :

"I am satisfied that the mass of the thinking men of the South accept the present situation of affairs in good faith. The questions which have heretofore divided the sentiment of the people of the two sections—slavery and State rights, or the right of a State to secede from the Union—they regard as having been settled forever by the highest tribunal—arms—that man can resort to.

"I was pleased to learn from the leading men whom I met that they not only accepted the decision arrived at as final, but, now the smoke of battle has cleared away, and time has been given for reflection, that this decision has been a fortunate one for the whole country, they receiving like benefits from it with those who opposed them in the field and council.

"The presence of black troops, lately slaves, demoralizes labor,

both by their advice and by furnishing in their camps a resort for the freedmen for long distances around. White troops generally excite no opposition, and therefore a small number of them can maintain order in a given district. Colored troops must be kept in bodies sufficient to defend themselves. It is not the thinking men who would use violence toward any class of troops sent among them by the General Government, but the ignorant in some places might ; and the late slave seems to be imbued with the idea that the property of his late master should by right belong to him, or at least should have no protection from the colored soldier. There is danger of collisions being brought on by such causes.

“ My observations lead me to the conclusion that the citizens of the Southern States are anxious to return to self-government within the Union as soon as possible ; that while reconstructing, they want and require protection from the Government ; that they are in earnest in wishing to do what they think is required by the Government not humiliating to them as citizens ; and that if such a course were pointed out they would pursue it in good faith. It is to be regretted that there cannot be a greater comingling at this time between the citizens of the two sections, and particularly of those intrusted with the law-making power.

“ U. S. GRANT,

“ *Lieutenant-General.*”

Again in 1867, when examined before a committee of Congress, General Grant said :

“ I know that immediately after the close of the rebellion there was a very fine feeling manifested in the South, and I thought we ought to take advantage of it as soon as possible.”

This needs no comment. General Grant's statements speak for themselves.

However, while resolving most loyally to maintain

and abide by both propositions—to wit, that slavery and secession were forever done for—the people of the South looked with horror and dismay upon what it now appeared their conquerors had in store for them. When it was announced that the Government intended to place the ballot in the hands of the negroes, and at the same time to put restrictions upon their own right of voting, then indeed did they become sick at heart. It would require a much more graphic pen than mine to rightly picture the outlook of this to their minds. Indeed, it is not possible for word-painting to give an adequate idea of what this foretokened to them. In the States of Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, Florida, Arkansas, and Texas, the negro population nearly balanced the white—in some States exceeded it. This negro population had always been the white population's slaves. The white population, from the very settlement of the colonies, had been educated and trained in a course of life which tends to rear a race peculiarly sensitive to what it views as personal indignity. It looked with a horror that cannot be described upon the prospect that a race, distinctly marked off from itself by the hand of God, which had always theretofore been their slaves, should be converted in the twinkling of an eye into their masters.

But to get any appreciation of their feelings, it is necessary to obtain some sort of idea of what this race was. It was distinctly marked off from them by color. It had been brought to this country in a savage state,

little, if any, superior in point of civilization to the jackals and monkeys of its native forests and jungles ; its place during its sojourn here had been more that of a domestic animal than of a member of the human family. It was utterly uneducated — talked a jargon almost unintelligible to those unused to it.

Judge B. R. Carpenter, a Republican, who voted for Mr. Lincoln at his second election, and for General Grant both times—who was a judge in South Carolina in carpet-bagger days, and a member of her Legislature—in his testimony before the Congressional Committee made the following statement relative to the negroes :

“ The colored population upon the sea-coast and upon the rivers, in point of intelligence, is just as slightly removed from the animal creation as it is conceivable for a man to be. I venture to say that no gentleman here would be able to understand one of them upon the witness stand, or would be able to know what he meant. I have had to exercise more patience and ingenuity in that particular, to have more explanations and interpretations, to find out what a witness meant to say who had witnessed a murder for instance, than to understand anything else in my life. They talk a very outlandish idiom, utterly unknown to me. They are very ignorant, and still have very strong passions, and these bad men lead them just as a man would drive or lead a flock of sheep.”
 (“ The Prostrate State,” p. 263.)

Now I do not mean to say that all the negroes in the South are upon as low a level as the sea-coast negroes. It is undoubtedly true that those in the more elevated country are superior to them in intelligence. But I do mean to say that there is no region of the South where they are sufficiently advanced upon the sea-coast negro

for a suggestion of putting them over the whites to be tolerated for one moment.

Was it unnatural that the white people, being a race such as the people of the South were, should have stood aghast at the idea of being forced all at once into subjection to the negroes—a race such as the negroes were? Was the feeling unnatural? Can Northern men say it was unnatural? What means the antipathy between the races when it is undertaken to enforce social contact and intercourse, which the developments in the Whittaker investigation disclose? What Republican, or son of a Republican, at West Point was there that would permit Whittaker to have any association with him? Was not Whittaker as absolutely ostracized at West Point as if he had been a leper?

But the degradation of the thing was not the only terror that was presented to their minds. Remove the bonds suddenly from the hands of people like the negroes, and give full rein to their license and their lust, and what sort of social condition would necessarily follow at once? Is it necessary to describe it in detail? Does not each mind at once paint for itself a picture of what would follow?

As soon as the policy of Reconstruction was determined on, the General Government decreed that no person should exercise any share in political power unless he could swear that he never entertained any sympathy for the Confederacy. None of the native whites could take this oath, so that the incumbency of office was at once confined to the negroes and the strangers who

might come. The strangers came in all the abundance that was necessary to fill every office. They drilled the negroes into organizations, the entire aim of which was to rule the white people. They used their votes to put themselves into all the offices. They constituted the Legislatures, and filled all the judicial offices and Executive offices. They were utterly corrupt, and having gone to the South to plunder the people of all that they could lay their hands on, they robbed them directly and they robbed them indirectly. The army of the United States was freely used by the Government to sustain them in all that they chose to do. The white people were held down by bayonets and compelled to submit. The governments which were imposed upon the Southern States during the period of Reconstruction were the most infamous, and atrocious, and elaborate schemes of plunder and fraud and insult that any civilized people ever were forced to submit to. They upset society, jeopardized life and property, robbed the public treasuries, literally excluded all the virtue and intelligence from participation in the government, debauched the ignorant negroes ; and in all this they were sustained by the General Government, which sent the army there to sustain them, and it held up their hands in their villainy.

In his review of Malcolm's "Life of Clive," Lord Macaulay has drawn the following picture of the condition into which the British Government in India fell during Clive's visit to England :

“ Accordingly, during the five years which followed the departure of Clive from Bengal, the misgovernment of the English was carried to a point such as seems hardly compatible with the very existence of society. The Roman proconsul who in a year or two squeezed out of a province the means of rearing marble palaces and baths on the shores of Campania, of drinking from amber, of feasting on singing birds, of exhibiting armies of gladiators and flocks of camelopards—the Spanish viceroy who, leaving behind him the curses of Mexico or Lima, entered Madrid with a long train of gilded coaches and of sumpter-horses, trapped and shod with silver—were now outdone. . . . The immense population of his dominions”—*i.e.*, a native prince—“ was given up as a prey to those who had made him a sovereign, and who could unmake him. The servants of the company obtained—not for their employés, but for themselves—a monopoly of almost the whole internal trade. They forced the natives to buy dear and sell cheap. They insulted, with perfect impunity, the tribunals, the police, and the fiscal authorities of the country. They covered with their protection a set of native dependants, who ranged through the provinces, spreading desolation and terror wherever they appeared. Every servant of a British factor was armed with all the power of his master, and his master was armed with all the power of the company. Enormous fortunes were thus rapidly accumulated at Calcutta, while thirty millions of human beings were reduced to the last extremity of wretchedness.”

Black as this is, it is hardly an exaggerated picture of the condition of the white people of the South in Reconstruction days. From many things that I might quote, if space only permitted, I select the following special telegram from Richmond to the New York *Herald* of December 31st, 1867. It will show what the condition of things in the South was at that time :

“From all portions of the State, with but one exception—the Shenandoah Valley—come accounts of a reign of terror because of the murderous and incendiary proclivities of the blacks. In Halifax County, during the Christmas holidays, a military officer, much against his will, was compelled to invoke the aid of the military authorities here, as there were serious indications of disturbance on the part of the blacks. Everything, however, passed off quietly, the presence of the military having a decided influence with the incendiary Africans. Disguise it as anybody may, a war of races seems inevitable. Every Virginian with whom I converse is impressed with a terrible foreboding of the coming conflict, and incendiarism of factories, dwelling-houses, and barns is a common event. The Bureau, a most iniquitous machine, smothers everything in the shape of a negro outrage, and even the military authorities are unwilling that such lawlessness should be known to the people of the North. The press here is flooded with accounts of these outrages and increase of crime among the blacks.”

In the progress of Reconstruction, the white people of the South came to a realization of all that was most dreadful in their anticipations when they learned that the ballot was to be given to the negro. I have admitted that there were violence, disorder, and bloodshed there during those dark days. It has been exaggerated, yet it was sufficient to be deplorable. But what else could be expected from the condition of society which the General Government forced on the Southern States? There is but one surprising thing about it, and that is that the white people were as moderate as they were, and that the whole land was not literally deluged with blood.

I have charged in my Reply that this state of society

was due to the carpet-bagger governments of Reconstruction days.

The whole gist of Mr. Tourgee's answer to my Reply is that this cannot be true because there were not Northerners enough in the South to have wrought out any such result. He goes to the census reports of 1860 and 1870, and undertakes to show from them that there were in 1860, 119,913 persons in the South who were born north of Mason and Dixon's line, while in 1870 there were only 130,611 "persons of Northern birth resident in the late Confederacy—an increase of 10,698, or 1000 to 1,000,000 of the population, or one in one thousand, or one tenth of one per cent." He has staked his entire case upon this proposition. I understand his answer to be an admission that if such a state of society had existed as I have pictured, then there would be justification for what he calls the outrage there, as a means of self-protection. He takes issue with me upon the matter of fact as to whether there was such a state of society, and if so, as to whether the carpet-baggers caused it. If a verdict should be pronounced against him upon this point, then, by all the rules of pleading, judgment must go against him upon the whole case. I have not thought the matter of how many Northern men were in the South in 1870 one of any moment in the discussion, and I have not therefore examined the census reports to determine whether Mr. Tourgee has correctly represented their figures or not. What will follow in this article will cause those who think his fig-

ures of any moment to look to the reports themselves to learn how the matter stands.

Before proceeding to a trial of the point at issue, there are a few preliminary remarks that I wish to make. Mr. Tourgee rather complains of personal attack upon himself in my Reply. I will admit that my work was written under the impulse of strong feelings of indignation. I could see that the writer of "A Fool's Errand" had seen and knew of the state of affairs in the South. His representations of matters there were discolored, and in the main absolutely false. I therefore looked upon him as a man who had wilfully and maliciously libelled my people. With the exception of this, and of one matter that I shall mention directly, I do not perceive that there is anything of a personal attack, in my Reply, upon Mr. Tourgee. I gave expression to sentiments of scorn and indignation for what I thought contemptible conduct in him, but not more freely, I think, than one who considers himself deliberately slandered lawfully may. I had also produced what appeared to be conclusive evidence that Mr. Tourgee was paid money by a corrupt combination of rascals to assist them in bribing a law through the North Carolina Legislature to plunder, for their own benefit, the State of North Carolina of nearly seven millions of dollars. It seems to me that it was perfectly relevant to impeach the character of the witness against the South by showing that he was utterly destitute of moral character, and that his testimony was not, therefore, entitled to any weight. And I must be permitted to

say now that in my judgment Mr. Tourgee would have been much more profitably employed, when writing his answer to my Reply, in trying to satisfy those who have read the evidence that he was not an accomplice of Swepson and Littlefield, than in endeavoring to foist upon the public misrepresentations of the state of sentiment and feeling in the South. There is one other remark to be made touching his credibility as a witness, which shows him to be so utterly reckless and careless in his statements of fact as to justify the closest scrutiny being given to whatever he says. In his answer he says that there are in Kansas 50,000 colored refugees, who sought her borders last year as a place of protection from the "bulldozer's paradise." Now Census Bulletin No. 60, dated January 15th, 1881, just issued, shows that there are at this time in Kansas but 43,910 colored people, including Chinese, Indians, and half-breeds, and we know that the greater part of these were there twelve months ago. The census of 1870 shows 17,108 negroes and 9814 Indians there at that time. What sort of a witness is he who recklessly makes such a statement as this?

I come now to the point at issue between us. Mr. Tourgee's argument may be thus formulated. All men know that figures cannot lie. Now the census reports of 1870 show that there were at that time in the Southern States but 10,000 persons of Northern birth who had gone there since the war — about one Northerner to every 1000 Southerners. This small proportion of carpet-baggers could not possibly have overthrown so-

ciety so completely as it is represented ; consequently the claim is false, because figures cannot lie. This is very like the process by which Bishop Butler demonstrated that no such person as Napoleon Bonaparte ever lived. Nevertheless, though the Bishop made his demonstration, yet Napoleon Bonaparte did live, and notwithstanding the Bishop's demonstration the world will always continue to believe that Napoleon Bonaparte did live. So, notwithstanding Mr. Tourgee's demonstration that the carpet-baggers could not have so completely overthrown society and plundered the people, yet the carpet-baggers did overthrow society and plunder the people, and the whole world will come to believe that they did so, Mr. Tourgee's demonstration to the contrary notwithstanding.

As to the number of carpet-baggers that were in the South. The white people of the South were allowed to continue their old governments until 1867. Up to that time there was nothing there to tempt the cupidity of the emigrating carpet-bagger. Almost all of them came after that time. In 1867 the military commanders of each Southern State overthrew the State governments, and began to fill the offices with carpet-baggers. Then it was that the halcyon day of the carpet-bagger began to dawn, and then it was they commenced to flock into those States like the locusts of Egypt. They were just arriving when the census enumerator was at his work. Further yet, almost all who were there in 1870 were there in the character of carpet-baggers distinctively. Almost all Northern men who were in the South prior

to the war, and who did not side with the South in the war, returned to the North before or during the war, or were dead in 1870. The vast majority of Northerners who came south after the war, prior to 1870, were distinctively carpet-baggers. Those that came were not honest immigrants—men with wives and families seeking homes, who have always been welcomed in the South—but political adventurers looking for jobs and opportunities of plunder. I do not think it would be an overestimate to say that of the 130,000 persons of Northern birth that the census of 1870 shows, according to Mr. Tourgee, to have been in the Southern States at that time, 90,000 were arrivals since the war, and not one tenth of them were honest immigrants looking for homes.

One large source of accession to the carpet-bagger element came from persons who had been in the employment of the Freedman's Bureau. Directly after the war the Government established an elaborate system all through the Southern States for looking after the negroes in the way of food and clothing. Very large sums of money were annually spent upon this, and many persons were in its employment. The officers of this came by degrees to be looked up to by the negroes as their special friends, and when the Bureau was allowed to go into a decline, these men, by a very natural transition, slid off into the character of the special representatives of the negro in politics. I do not mean to say that all the employés of the Freedman's Bureau were bad men, but it had a larger proportion of bad

men in its employment than any business I ever knew. The good ones quit in disgust, and either settled down among the people and became good citizens, or returned North. The vile carpet-bagger element of them took up politics for a trade, and went into the business of negro representation.

But Mr. Tourgee is welcome to all his figures, and to all the deductions which he may desire to make from them. Aided and sustained by the military, there were enough carpet-baggers in the South to band the negroes together into solid organizations, which had but one watchword—to wit, opposition to and control of the whites; there were enough carpet-baggers there to fill every office that had a salary attached to it, and there were enough carpet-baggers there to overthrow all social order and make the very name of government a mockery. Let Mr. Tourgee name the neighborhood, in any Southern State, if he can, where there was any deficiency of them. Let any other person name the neighborhood in which they were wanting. They were like the poor, “always with us.” The supply was always just equal to the demand. When I hear any one saying that there were but a few carpet-baggers in the South, I recall Mercutio’s account of his wound :

“No, ’tis not so deep as a well, nor so wide
As a church door; but ’tis enough, ’twill serve.”

There were enough there, sustained in everything as they were by the military, and backed by the entire negro population, to make the situation of the white people but little if any better than that of the poor

Bengalese while Clive was in England. General Ord commanded the military district composed of Mississippi and Arkansas. In his report upon the condition of those States in 1867 he says: "The will of the colored people may be in favor of supporting loyal office-holders, but their intelligence is not now sufficient to enable them to combine for the execution of their will. All their combinations are now conducted by white men *under the protection of the military*; if protection is withdrawn, the white men now controlling would withdraw with it." ("Report of the Secretary of War for 1867," p. 378.) This tells the whole tale. A few, sustained by the military, were far more efficient than numbers acting from their own unaided force. With the military to sustain them, all that was required was enough to fill the offices, and then the carnival of fraud, rascality, plunder, insult, contempt of every obligation, whether of morals or religion, set in.

I will now show the real state of affairs in the South in Reconstruction days, and how that state of affairs came about.

In 1866 Congress passed the first of the series of Reconstruction laws. This act divided the South off into military districts, requiring the President to appoint an officer not below the rank of brigadier-general to command each district. It gave to this military officer complete power and dominion over the persons and property of the citizens of those States, and full control over even their laws. The solitary restriction upon his powers was that he should not inflict the death penalty

without the approval of the President. All other penalties he could inflict at his pleasure.

From the end of the war until this time the State governments were in the hands of their own citizens. On March 23d, 1867, 15 Stat. at Large, p. 2, Congress passed an act which provided for a general registration of voters in the fall of 1867, and also provided that no one should register who could not swear that he had never been disfranchised for participation in rebellion or civil war against the United State; that he never was a member of a State legislature, nor ever held any office, executive or judicial, in any State, and afterward engaged in rebellion against the United States, or gave aid and comfort to the enemies thereof; or ever took an oath as a member of Congress, or as an officer of a State or of the United States, to support the Constitution of the United States, and afterward engaged in rebellion or gave aid and comfort to the enemies of the United States. It went on then to provide for conventions to frame constitutions, to be elected by the voters registered at that registration.

On the 19th of July, 1867, an act supplementary to this was passed (Ib. p. 14), which declared the governments at that time existing in the Southern States to be illegal governments. This act gave the military commander of each military district of the South power to suspend or remove from office any and every State officer holding office under the then existing State governments, whenever in the opinion of such commander the proper administration of the Reconstruction laws re-

quired it, and to fill his or their places with a soldier or such civilian as he pleased. And it made it the duty of the military commanders of the South, in express terms, to remove from office all persons who were disloyal to the Government of the United States, or who used their official influence in any manner to hinder, delay, prevent, or obstruct the due and proper administration of the Reconstruction laws.

This act also gave the board of registration, for which the previous one had provided, complete power over the matter of registering an applicant. It was to have power to refuse to register him, even though he should take the necessary oath. It also provided that the true intent of the preceding statute, among other things, was to exclude from the right to register and vote, incumbents of all civil offices created by law for the administration of any general law of a State, or for the administration of justice, who had afterwards sympathized with the rebellion. This act, and its enforcement, at once prostrated the existing State governments, which were acceptable to the people, and turned every solitary officer of them out of his place. The district which comprised Virginia was commanded by General Schofield. In his report to the General of the Army he says that this act "prescribed as a qualification for office the oath prescribed for officers of the United States, a test which could not in many portions of the State be complied with by any considerable number of persons of intelligence." (See Report of the Secretary of War for 1867, p. 241.) It was construed

as General Schofield construed it all over the South. (See *ib. passim.*)* It stopped the entire machinery of government, and that machinery remained stopped until the military commanders filled the offices. These they filled, by appointment, with none but "loyal" men; consequently, as there were no "loyal" natives, they had to rely upon the strangers and negroes. In his report on Virginia, General Schofield says that in appointing officers preference was given first to officers of the army and the Freedman's Bureau on duty in the State; second, to persons honorably discharged from the army after meritorious services in the war; and third, loyal citizens—all strangers to the people, and the "loyal" citizens carpet-baggers of course, as there were no loyal natives. (See Report of Secretary of War for 1867, p. 241.) In this way every State government in the South was converted in 1867 into a carpet-bagger and negro government. Then commenced the process of reconstruction. Constitutional conventions were to be elected and held in each State, and they were to be elected and held under the joint operation of this sort of a civil government, supplemented by the military government. Elections for them were at once ordered.

Mr. Tourgee, in his answer, tries to make the impression that the white people of the Southern States so far outnumbered the colored in all except three States

* Whenever I have referred to the Report of the Secretary of War for 1867, it is to vol. i. of Executive Documents, printed by order of the House of Representatives, during the second session of the 40th Congress.

that it would have been impossible for the carpet-baggers to get such absolute control over those States through themselves and the negroes, and he produces the following table to show the comparative white and colored population, as shown by the census of 1870 :

	Whites.	Col.		Whites.	Col.
Alabama.....	5	to 4	North Carolina.....	2	to 1
Arkansas.....	3	to 1	South Carolina.....	3	to 4
Florida.....	2	to 1	Tennessee.....	3	to 1
Georgia.....	2½	to 1	Texas.....	3½	to 1
Louisiana.....	1	to 1	Virginia.....	2	to 1
Mississippi.....	3	to 4	West Virginia.....	15	to 1

It would be sufficient to say, in answer to this, that, sustained as the carpet-baggers were in all that they did by the military, and oppressed, as the white people were, by them, the proportion furnished by Mr. Tourgee would have been sufficient. But as a statement of the real facts relating to the proportion will tend to show what Mr. Tourgee's credibility as a witness is, I shall here present them. The Census Reports for 1870 show the following table of population for the above-mentioned States :

	White.	Colored.		White.	Colored.
Alabama.....	521,384	475,510	N. Carolina.	678,470	391,650
Arkansas.....	362,115	122,169	S. Carolina..	289,667	415,814
Florida.....	90,057	91,689	Tennessee...	936,119	322,331
Georgia.....	638,926	545,142	Texas.....	564,700	253,475
Louisiana.....	362,065	364,210	Virginia....	712,089	512,841
Mississippi....	382,896	444,201	W. Virginia.	424,033	17,890

Now, let any one who feels any curiosity about it

make the calculation for himself, and he will find the following ratio of colored and white in those States :

	White.	Colored.		White.	Col'd.
Alabama....	less than $4\frac{1}{2}$	to 4	North Carolina...	$1\frac{9}{10}$	to 1
Arkansas....	3	to 1	South Carolina...	$2\frac{2}{3}$	to 4
Florida	$1\frac{1}{20}$	to 1	Tennessee.....	3	to 1
Georgia.....	$1\frac{1}{16}$	to 1	Texas.....	$2\frac{1}{4}$	to 1
Louisiana...	$\frac{4}{8}$	to 1	Virginia... ..	$1\frac{1}{3}$	to 1
Mississippi..	3	to 4	West Virginia...	25	to 1

Was there ever a more glaring, and at the same time a sillier effort to impose upon the public than this? Mr. Tourgee surely ought to have known that the Census Reports were accessible to others as well as himself, and that those who knew something of his credibility as a witness were not going to act upon his statements of what they contained when they could so easily find out the truth for themselves. He had just as well have attempted to make a misrepresentation about the multiplication table. He was just as sure to be detected. What credibility is to be attached to the testimony of a witness whose statements are so recklessly made as this man's are?

I do not know how the registration turned out in the States of Arkansas, Mississippi, Louisiana, and Texas, but I have at hand statements of how it resulted in Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Alabama, Georgia, and Florida. In Virginia, 115,068 whites and 103,082 colored were registered (Report of the Secretary of War for 1867, p. 22). General Schofield estimated the number of persons disfranchised in Virginia at about

19,000 (*ib.* p. 22). In North Carolina there were 103,060 whites and 71,657 colored (*ib.* p. 23). In South Carolina there were 45,751 whites and 79,585 colored (*ib.* p. 24). In Georgia there were 95,214 whites and 93,457 colored (*ib.* p. 25). In Alabama there were 74,450 whites and 90,350 colored (*ib.* p. 25). In Florida there were 11,180 whites and 15,357 colored (*ib.* p. 25). We have no returns for Mississippi, Louisiana, and Arkansas, but of course we know that the registration showed large majorities for the blacks in each of those States, except Arkansas and Texas. Thus, so far as the right to vote at the elections was concerned, which was the only material thing, the negroes had a majority in the States of South Carolina, Alabama, Florida, Louisiana, and Mississippi; they just balanced the whites in Georgia; and in Virginia, North Carolina, Texas, and Arkansas they were so nearly even that they had no difficulty, with the aid of the military, in electing their candidates.

In each State a constitutional convention was elected, in the fall of 1867, by the voters registered at this registration, and in each one of them a large majority of carpet-baggers and negroes were elected. Thus was reconstruction to be accomplished—by the formation of constitutions—for every Southern State by a convention of such representatives as these. Mr. Tourgee would have the public believe that the white people were numerous enough to have controlled the election of these conventions, and that they either assisted in electing the delegates, such as they were, or were too

apathetic to make an effort to elect their own delegates. Neither of these is true.

The pretence that they took part in the election of such as were chosen is simply ridiculous, and is not worth considering ; and that they exerted themselves to the full extent to elect proper delegates can easily be shown. If they could have controlled the matter anywhere, it is to be supposed they might have done so in Virginia, where the registration showed that they had 12,000 majority ; and yet the convention that was elected in Virginia contained an overwhelming majority of negroes and carpet-baggers—was one of the most disgraceful bodies of men that was ever assembled together anywhere. The truth is, it was not upon the cards that the white people should be allowed to elect their own representatives. It was decreed at Washington that the conventions should be negro conventions, and the elections a farce. The election took place in Virginia on the 22d and 23d of October, 1867. Let any contemporary newspaper be referred to, and it will be seen that the white people exerted themselves to the utmost. Let any one consult the *Herald's* Washington dispatch of the night of October 22d, 1867, in the *Herald* of October 23d. It represents that the advices from Richmond show that the people are all absorbed in the election—all business suspended for it. And let any one consult page 389 of the Report of the Secretary of War for 1867, and he will thus learn how it was that the negroes elected their representatives all over the South. The act of Congress had provided that the

elections should be held after thirty days' notice. General Schofield had ordered the Virginia election to be held on the 22d and 23d of October, and that the polls should be closed at sunset on the 23d. At sunset on the 23d the candidates of the white people in the city of Richmond were elected by several hundred majority. Consequently the polls were kept open, without any authority for it, until midnight of the 24th, and then, by hook or by crook, it was declared that the candidates of the negroes were elected. A full account of this can be found in the documents accompanying the Report of the Secretary of War for 1867, p. 389. Proceedings of the same sort can be found in the history of each one of the Southern States. The Reconstruction acts had provided that unless a majority of all the registered voters voted for or against the constitution submitted to the people for ratification, it, and consequently all officers elected under it, should be considered as defeated and rejected. Let us see what the experience of the State of Alabama was in this connection. I quote from the testimony of General James H. Clanton, taken by the committee of Congress appointed to investigate the Ku-Klux outrages. He said :

“ Congress provided that if a majority of the registered voters voted for it, it was accepted ; if they failed to vote for it, it was rejected. Well, the last Democratic State Convention which met left the question as to policy entirely in the hands of the Executive Committee, of which I was president. This question had to be met, and it was a grave one, involving more responsibility than I wished to take. So I called together a council of about one

hundred leading men in the State, embracing every ex-member of Congress and ex-judge in the State. We met and deliberated, and we concluded to vote against the constitution, with the hope of rejecting it. But for fear it might be adopted, we were at the same time to take care of ourselves by electing officers under it. Having agreed upon this, we were about to adjourn, when we received a dispatch from Governor Parsons, who was the accredited agent of the Democratic party here in Washington, saying, 'I am on my way to Montgomery; will be there to-night. Don't adjourn your convention; don't act till I get there.' He came. Some few of our men had left. He made a speech, in which he used this language: 'So far as the Reconstruction measures are concerned and this constitution, touch not, taste not, handle not the unclean thing.' He frequently used that language afterwards in his Democratic addresses throughout the State. Governor Parsons, Alexander White, then a leading Democrat, who prepared the address on that occasion, but now a leading Radical, and Samuel Rice, a man who has been a Secessionist for thirty years, as he boasts, and with whom I have had many a passage at arms—these three men caused the council to reverse its action. They are now three leaders on the other side in Alabama. At this time the negroes were very much excited. The right of suffrage had been forced on them by Congress. They were all armed. They had half a dozen league rooms, I suppose, in our city—several at least—and they were under the control of very bad men—adventurers. A great many had got hold of muskets and had organized in companies and battalions. This was another reason urged for not going to the polls, that it might lead to a war of races. The election came on. The white people did not go to the polls, or passed resolutions not to go. The consequence was there was but one Democratic Senator elected in the State, and he ran contrary to our policy. There is but one now in the State Senate. We knew we could defeat the constitution without voting, and we thought if we defeated the constitution Congress would not go back on itself and force it on us. Hence the intimidation was all

a myth. The Democratic party resolved not to go to the polls, and we did not go. But the negroes marched to the polls by battalions, armed with muskets and stepping to the beat of drums. They stacked their arms around the polls, some standing guard. There was great confusion, and in the evening, in Montgomery, they got on the rampage and commenced firing their guns, the balls whistling through the houses and lots. They continued it in the night until Colonel Crittenden, the Federal commander, being afraid of the results, disarmed them as far as he could reach them. But many remained in the outskirts of the town firing their guns. The balls flew around my house pretty thickly. General Meade appointed the managers of the election. They were all Radicals, or nearly so. He received their returns and counted the vote. He reported that the constitution, according to the form of law prescribed by Congress, had fallen short a good many thousand votes of the majority of the registered vote. We thought then that we would continue on under our own officers elected by the people. In that we were mistaken. Every one of those officers, so far as I know, was removed, and the men who had been voted for by the negroes under the constitution which General Meade said was rejected were installed in the places of those elected by law—installed by the bayonet. They are in office to-day, with few exceptions, having held over six years, instead of four as prescribed by the constitution. We have been ever since under officers that we never voted for, except those elected at the last election, and where there have been removals. It has been very galling, but we have borne it.”

It was by such proceedings and methods as these that the Reconstruction governments in the Southern States were organized. What was the next step in the progress of the drama? Conventions, consisting of such representatives as never were assembled together in a civilized country before, met and proceeded to frame

constitutions which disfranchised, or made incapable of holding office, the entire white population of the Southern States. I quote a provision from the constitution that was framed for Virginia.

The fourth clause of Section 1 of Article 3 forever disfranchised every person who had ever held any office of any sort, and afterwards engaged in the war on the Confederate side, or had ever given any aid or comfort to the enemies of the United States. As we have seen, this disfranchised about 19,000 of the best people in the State. The seventh section of Article 3 provided the oath that all persons must take before they entered upon the discharge of any office, State, city, or county. It made them swear as follows :

“ I, —, do solemnly swear that I have never voluntarily borne arms against the United States, since I have been a citizen thereof ; that I have voluntarily given no aid, countenance, counsel, or encouragement, to persons engaged in armed hostility thereto ; that I have never sought nor accepted, nor attempted to exercise the functions of any office whatever, under any authority or pretended authority, in hostility to the United States ; that I have not yielded a voluntary support to any pretended government, authority, power, or constitution, within the United States, hostile or inimical thereto.”

This oath made it impossible for any native white Virginian to hold any office whatever within the State. There were not fifty white Virginians then living who could take it. It turned the entire administration of all affairs, State, city, and county, over to the negroes and carpet-baggers. God in his mercy put it into the hearts

of Congress to permit the people to vote upon the question of adopting the Constitution separated from the question of adopting these two provisions, and we made an almost superhuman effort all over the State, and beat them, and in this way Virginia was rescued from carpet-bagger rule.

Thus were the Reconstruction governments of the Southern States launched and set afloat by the process of reconstruction that was adopted, and from the time each started until it was overthrown, each State was the victim of every species of fraud, robbery, and plunder, and the white people of each State were the subjects for every species of insult and oppression. It would serve no good purpose to give the history of the carpet-bagger government of each one of the Southern States. Some of the facts concerning one will serve to illustrate all. They were all alike. I select the State of South Carolina because the materials are at hand, and much of it comes from a source that will not admit of question in the North.

If Mr. Tourgee thinks that South Carolina was an exception, and that it is not fair to judge all by her, let him name any other one, and I will take that.

As soon as the constitution adopted by the black-and-tan convention of South Carolina had gone into operation, a legislature and the officers of the State Government were elected. This was done in 1868. The following were the executive and judicial officers : Governor, R. K. Scott, carpet-bagger, and recently Superintendent of the Freedman's Bureau ; Lieutenant-

Governor, a negro carpet-bagger ; Treasurer, Parker, a carpet-bagger ; Secretary of State, Hayne, mulatto, native ; Comptroller - General, Nagle, white, from North Carolina ; Attorney-General, D. H. Chamberlain, carpet-bagger ; Land Commissioner, Leslie, carpet-bagger ; Adjutant-General, Moses, native Jew ; Auditor, a carpet-bagger (name not at hand) ; Superintendent of Education, a carpet-bagger (name not at hand). Of the ten officials of the Executive Department of the Government, six were white carpet-baggers, all or nearly all of whom were officers of the Freedman's Bureau when elected to office ; one was a negro carpet-bagger, one a native mulatto, and one a foreigner from North Carolina. The Supreme Court of Appeals was composed of one white carpet-bagger, one negro carpet-bagger, and one native Jew. The Legislature was composed of such material as was in harmony with the executive and judicial branches. I forbear to give an account of it in detail, because it may be judged of from a succeeding one, of which I shall give an account. The most of what I shall say of the South Carolina government is taken from "The Prostrate State," a work written in the months of February and March, 1873, by James S. Pike, a Republican, and lately Minister of the United States at the Hague, sent there by a Republican administration. Mr. Pike was at one time an associate editor of the New York *Tribune*, and was sent to South Carolina by the *Tribune* to learn the real state of affairs there. He had no interest to misrepresent or color matters. He was a Republican, and

a sojourner simply in South Carolina to ascertain the state of affairs. The House of Representatives of South Carolina in 1873 consisted of 124 members. Of these, the white people had elected 23. The other one hundred and one were the negroes' representatives. Of this 101, 94 were negroes, and 7 whites. Of them Mr. Pike says :

“ It is the dregs of the population habilitated in the robes of their intelligent predecessors, and asserting over them the rule of ignorance and corruption, through the inexorable machinery of a majority of numbers. It is barbarism overwhelming civilization by numbers. It is the slave rioting in the halls of his master, and putting that master under his feet. . . . As things stand, the body is almost literally a black parliament, and it is the only one on the face of the earth which is the representative of a white constituency and the professed exponent of an advanced type of modern civilization. But the reader will find almost any portraiture inadequate to give a vivid idea of the body, and enable him to comprehend the complete metamorphosis of the South Carolina Legislature without observing its details. The Speaker is black, the clerk is black, the doorkeepers are black, the little pages are black, the chairman of the Ways and Means Committee is black, and the chaplain is coal black. At some of the desks sit men whose types it would be hard to find outside of Congo ; whose costume, visages, attitudes, and expressions only befit the fore-castle of a buccaneer. It must be remembered also that these men, with not more than half a dozen exceptions, have been themselves slaves, and that their ancestors were slaves for generations” (p. 12 *et seq.*).

Leaving wholly out of view what a government thus constituted did in the way of heaping daily insult and outrage upon the white people, let us look at some of

its frauds and rascalities for a moment. In 1868, when the Reconstruction government commenced, the debt of the State of South Carolina amounted to \$5,407,215.23 principal, and \$116,361.33 of overdue interest. (See message of Governor Orr of 7th July, 1868.) It is impossible ever to know accurately what these people made the debt mount up to, but Mr. Pike, after collating and examining all the evidence that was accessible, comes to the conclusion that in 1872 it had increased to \$33,900,000, nearly sevenfold (chap. xviii. p. 120). That was a pretty good increase in four years for a State the entire property in which was worth less than \$200,000,000 ! (The assessment for 1879 shows \$125,717,214.)

And what did South Carolina get in consideration? Nothing, absolutely nothing. Every dollar of it was stolen by the members of the Legislature and the officers of the government and their associates. The House of Representatives determined to furnish their chamber, and appointed a committee with power to do it. When the bill came in it amounted to \$95,000. When the items were looked into, it was found that four and five prices had been paid for everything. Seven hundred and fifty dollars was paid for one mirror in the Speaker's room ; each official had a separate room for himself, gorgeously fitted up, with toilet-sets and all the paraphernalia of a dwelling-house : clocks at \$480 apiece, and chandeliers at \$650. Two hundred fine porcelain spittoons at \$8 apiece were provided for a house of 124 members, 94 of whom were Congo negroes. (Prostrate State, chap. xxiv. p. 201.)

It is curious and interesting to note how the greed of the Legislature and officers of their body grew and increased with indulgence. The following is a comparative statement of furniture purchased for them by the State in two different years :

1869-70.	1871-72.
\$5 clocks.	\$600 clocks.
40 cent spittoons.	\$8 cuspadores.
\$4 benches.	\$200 crimson plush sofas.
Straw beds.	Sponge mattresses and Oriental pillows.
\$1 chairs.	\$60 crimson plush Gothic chairs.
\$4 pine tables.	\$80 library tables.
25 cent hat-pegs.	\$30 hat-racks.
\$8 desks.	\$50 desks.
\$10 office desks.	\$80 to \$175 office desks.
50 cent coat-hooks.	\$100 wardrobes.
Cheap matting.	Body Brussels carpeting.
Clay pipes.	Finest Havana cigars.
Cheap whisky.	Champagne.
\$4 looking-glasses.	\$600 mirrors.
\$2 window-curtains.	\$600 brocatel curtains, lambrequins, etc.
\$5 cornices.	\$80 walnut and gilt cornices.

(See Report Committee on Public Frauds, 1877-78, p. 24.) The vouchers for these bills and many similar ones, amounting to hundreds of thousands of dollars, are in the public archives at Columbia.

“ One F. J. Moses, Jr., from Brooklyn, N. Y., was the Speaker of the House. There was a negro member of the House by the name of Whipper, who was the proprietor of fast horses. Moses and Whipper had made up a match race for \$1000 a side. The race was fixed to come off on the said 4th day of March; and the explanation of the recess on that day is, that the House adjourned

to attend this horse-race. The race was run, and the Speaker lost the bet of \$1000. Three days afterwards, on the day of final adjournment, and the very last thing done in the House, as shown by the journal, a motion was made by Whipper, 'That a gratuity of \$1000 be voted to the Speaker of this House, for the dignity and ability with which he has presided over its deliberations.' The motion was passed by a large majority." (Prostrate State, p. 199.)

And so, I suppose, Whipper got his money. It came to be even worse than this. Scott, the carpet-bagger Governor, actually determined to arm the negroes, and he spent \$374,000 in arming them with Winchester rifles, under the pretence of organizing the militia. This was going further than endurance could go. Such mutterings began to be heard, along with the groans of the people, that he quaked in his boots and was frightened into desisting, but not until many rifles had been issued.

In 1871 a joint committee of the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States, consisting of twenty-one members, was appointed to investigate the Ku-Klux outrages. They took a vast amount of testimony, some of which I will quote. As introductory to it, I quote the following paragraph from the report of the minority of the committee to Congress.

"Men in the Northern and Western States have but a faint idea of the oppressions wantonly heaped upon the people of the South ; of the insolence of the adventurers who were made their masters ; of the strife they stirred up by their appeals to the worst passions of the ignorant negroes, inciting them to crimes, and deceiving them by false promises of conferring upon them the property of their former masters, in order that they, by the votes of the negroes, might ride into power and place, which they never would

have thought of at home, and thus be enabled to rob and plunder a people whose most intelligent men and largest property-holders were disfranchised by Congress, the more surely to enable the Freedman's Bureau agents, and other adventurers, to obtain and hold undisputed possession of all the functions of government, State and Federal. A careful reading of the testimony taken by the committee—for on these points there is no dispute and no conflict—would convince every impartial man that the endurance and long-suffering of that people has been such as no people ever before exhibited.”

This report was written by General Frank P. Blair, at that time a Senator from Missouri, and is signed by himself, Senator Thomas F. Bayard, Senator James B. Beck, Representative S. S. Cox, and several others well known to the country.

Colonel C. H. Suber, of Newberry, South Carolina, testified to the committee as follows :

“ Q. You have alluded several times to the arming of the militia. I want you to tell us what was the general arrangement about the arming of the militia ; how were they organized and armed ; were they generally white or black ; and how did they behave when they were acting in their organized capacity ? State fully all about that, without any further questioning, so far as your information and knowledge will enable you to do so.

“ A. Well, sir, without any public call being made, the first intimation we had in our community that there was to be an organization of the militia, a colored officer came to Newberry, and was met there by the colored people from all parts of the county ; that was the first intimation we had of it. They immediately organized companies and appointed or elected officers ; I think they had as many as six companies in our county ; I know that in town there were three mustered in, all commanded by colored officers.

“ Q. Were all the men colored ?

“ A. Yes, sir. Soon after they were organized, they drilled for some time without arms.

“ Q. When was that ?

“ A. Last summer ; about the month of June, I think.

“ Q. Was that after the canvass had begun between Governor Scott and his opponent ?

“ A. It was just about the time, or a little before the convention met ; just at the beginning of the canvass. They were drilled at first without arms, at night and in the day time. Soon after that arms were furnished to them, and arms of the most improved pattern, and ammunition in abundance ; and they never had any political gatherings or any celebrations except these companies appeared with their arms. They were drilling and mustering through our streets then day and night, all the summer and fall.

“ Q. State the relative proportion of the blacks and whites in Newberry County.

“ A. I think the proportion is about five-eighths black to three-eighths white. Their majority in the election has been 1300 or 1400 over the whites.

“ Q. Were any white companies in the county of Newberry allowed to organize and to be furnished with arms ?

“ A. No, sir ; one white company organized in town, and tendered themselves to the Governor, under the act of the Legislature authorizing the organization of the militia ; but he declined to receive the company or to furnish them with arms.

“ Q. About that same time, or at some other time ?

“ A. Just at the same time. After the colored companies were organized, a white company was organized, and their services tendered to the Governor, but he declined to accept them.

“ Q. So that the only armed organizations you have had in the county of Newberry have been colored ?

“ A. Yes, sir.

“ Q. You think you had six companies of them ?

“ A. I think there were six in the county ; there were three at the Court House.

“ Q. What was their assumed object in attending political gatherings in an organized military form, with arms in their hands ?

“ A. I suppose it was to please and to dazzle their own people, and at the same time to resist any disturbance that might occur if any should come in their way ; I cannot imagine what else they went armed for. They had their cartridges and their bayonets, and I suppose it was for that ; I do not know what it was for.

“ Q. Did they attempt in any way to intimidate the whites ?

“ A. They marched through our streets frequently, and shoved everybody off the sidewalks who came in contact with them. Indeed nobody cared to go into the streets when they were parading ; it was unsafe for ladies to walk the streets when they were out. Their celebrations generally occurred in a grove not far from the town, and they generally closed their celebrations by marching into the Court House square and occupying the Court House porch or steps, from which harangues were delivered to them. The companies would be formed in front of the Court House, and they would occupy the whole square ; the square is rather small.

“ Q. What was the character of the harangues delivered to them ?

“ A. I was compelled to hear them because my office was within hearing, and I could not do otherwise than hear them. I have heard some of a very incendiary character, the tenor of which was to persuade those colored people that the white men were their enemies ; to look upon them as their former masters and as tyrants, and not to trust them in anything. They would dwell with peculiar unction upon the miseries of their former servitude ; they would talk to them about the lashes that had been put upon their backs by their masters, and the manacles on their hands that had been taken off by their friends, the Republicans. They would tell them that they must not trust their former masters, for they were only seeking to get into position where they could re-enslave them. All sorts of appeals were made to their passions, and everything was said to inflame them against the white people.

“ Q. Were those speeches made by white men ?

“ A. By white and colored men. I think the most moderate speeches were made by colored men.

“ Q. Did you ever hear a man by the name of Worthington make an address to them ?

“ A. I heard Worthington speak from the Court House steps. He was of that class of orators ; I do not think he was so incendiary as some of the others, but he dealt more in innuendo than in direct appeals to their passions.

“ Q. Were appeals made to them at any time to apply the torch ?

“ A. Yes, sir. I have heard that Joe Crews, a member of the Legislature, a white man from Laurens County, marched through that county with those armed companies last summer, during the campaign, and that he said in his public speeches that matches were worth only five cents a box, and that that was the remedy for their grievances.”

Colonel Carpenter testified on this point as follows :

“ Q. What do you know, or what information have you, of the character of the speeches made by Crews, and men of that sort, to the negroes during the canvass ?

“ A. Well, I heard some of them. I did not hear Crews in public—I mean upon the stump ; but I heard him talk to a crowd of men standing about. The general talk of all such men as Crews was that the negroes owned all the land and property in the country ; that they had a right to all they wanted ; that if the white folks did not let them have it, ‘ and did not behave themselves,’ as he called it, they would burn their houses and kill them. I do not think more incendiary speeches could be made than Crews made in that county.”

Mr. Joseph Hernden, of Yorkville, testified as follows in relation to the same matter :

“ Q. After that time, how many fires occurred ?

“ A. We had a great many fires in the county after that. I think the next fire was some time in November or December.

There was a gin-house burned, and, I think, a saw-mill. That was perhaps the next fire of any account.

“ Q. Was that supposed to be the work of incendiaries ?

“ A. Yes, sir.

“ Q. Then you had a fire some time in January, had you not ?

“ A. Yes, sir ; there were four or five buildings burned one night in January.

“ Q. State the circumstances attending that fire, and what was believed about it ?

“ A. Well, the people there believed that the thing was concocted in the village, from what they could gather from the negroes ; they could not tell.

“ Q. State all the facts to the committee.

“ A. These houses in the country, some four or five of them, were all burned about the same time.

“ Q. Do you mean the same hour ?

“ A. About the same hour, yes, sir. Before the burning commenced—I did not hear this myself, but a great many persons did hear it—there was a volley of some twenty or thirty pistols or guns fired off in the street, opposite to a house where the county treasurer kept his office, and very soon after this volley was fired off, those buildings were seen on fire ; and they supposed that was a signal for setting them on fire. Of course, I do not know ; I only give what was the impression.

“ Q. What was the common belief of the people ?

“ A. That was the common belief of the people.

“ Q. Was it at night, after the people had retired to bed ?

“ A. Yes, sir ; one or two o'clock in the morning.

“ Q. What were the buildings burned ?

“ A. There were one or two barns and two or three gin-houses in that fire, as well as I recollect.

“ Q. In different parts of the county ?

“ A. Yes, sir ; in a kind of a circle, from the north around to the east of the village.

“ Q. Was there a large gathering of colored people in town that night ?

“ A. Yes, sir ; there were a great many negroes in town that night from the country.

“ Q. Do you know the cause of their gathering there that night ?

“ A. It was said they had a League meeting there that night ; that was what the people said.

“ Q. Did the volley believed to be a signal for those fires come from that League meeting ?

“ A. That was what was believed ; that that was the signal for parties to set the fire. I do not know this, of course ; this is just what I heard talked.

“ Q. At these meetings, held and largely attended by colored people, what sort of speeches were generally made to them by their leaders ?

“ A. I understood that there were a great many of them very incendiary speeches. I did not attend any of their meetings.

“ Q. What was the character of those incendiary remarks as you have heard them repeated ?

“ A. I heard several persons remark that Mr. John L. Neagle, who is now the Comptroller-General of the State, made a speech there last summer, and said to the negroes that if they could not get this, that, and the other, that town might probably be laid in ashes ; that matches were cheap, and all that sort of thing. I did not hear that ; this was the talk.

“ Q. Made during the canvass last summer ?

“ Yes, sir.”

The following letter speaks more than volumes from any other quarter could. It is from D. H. Chamberlain, a carpet-bagger to South Carolina, who was Attorney-General of that State in the days of its most infamous corruption, and afterwards Governor. It was written to Colonel W. L. Trenholm, on the 5th of May, 1871. He says :

“ I propose to lay aside all partisanship, and simply to state facts as I conceive them to exist. Let us look at our State, when the Reconstruction acts first took effect in 1868.

“ A social revolution had been accomplished, an entire reversal of the political relations of most of our people had ensued. The class which formerly held all the political powers of our State were stripped of all.

“ The class which formerly had been less than citizens, with no political power or social position, were made the *sole depositories* of the political powers of the State. I refer now to the practical results, not to theories. The numerical relations of the two races here were such that one race, under the new laws, held absolute political control of the State.

“ The attitude and action of both races, under these new conditions, while not unnatural, was, I must think, most unwise and unfortunate. One race stood aloft and haughtily refused to seek the confidence of the race which was just entering on its new powers; while the other race quickly grasped all the political power which the new order of things had placed within their reach.

“ From the nature of the case, the one race were devoid of political experience, of all, or nearly all education, and depended mainly for all these qualities upon those who, for the most part, *chanced to have drifted here from other States*, or who, in very rare instances, being former residents of the State, now allied themselves with the other race. No man of common prudence, or who was even slightly familiar with the working of social forces, could have failed to see that the elements which went to compose the now dominant party were not of the kind which produce public virtue and honor, or which could long secure even public order and peace.

“ I make all just allowances for exceptional cases of individual character, but I say that the result to be expected, from the very nature of the situation in 1868, was that a scramble for office would ensue among the members of the party in power, which again, from the very nature of the case, must result in filling the offices of the State, local and general, with men of no capacity, and little honesty or desire to really serve the public.

“ The nation had approved the Reconstruction measures, not because they seemed to be free of danger, nor because they were blind to the very grave possibilities of future evils, but in the hope that the one race, wearing its new laurels and using its new powers with modesty and forbearance, would gradually remove the prejudices and enlist the sympathies and co-operation of the other race, until a fair degree of political homogeneity should be reached,

and race lines should cease to mark the limits of political parties.

“ Three years have passed, and the result is—what? *Incompetency, dishonesty, corruption in all its forms, have ‘advanced their miscreated fronts;’ have put to flight the small remnant that opposed them, and now rules the party which rules the State.*

“ You may imagine the chagrin with which I make this statement. Truth alone compels it. My eyes see it—all my senses testify to the startling and sad fact. I can never be indifferent to anything which touches the fair fame of that great national party to which all my deepest convictions attach me, and I repel the libel which the party bearing that name in this State is daily pouring upon us. I am a Republican by habit, by conviction, by association; but my Republicanism is not, I trust, *composed of equal parts of ignorance and rapacity. Such is the plain statement of the PRESENT CONDITION of the dominant party of our State!*” (Report Ku-Klux Committee, p. 524)

What must have been the condition of South Carolina when such an admission as this could be extorted from this man? Comment is unnecessary. His letter speaks for itself.

These rotten, corrupt, infamous governments piled up the following load of debts upon the Southern States: Alabama, debt increased from \$5,939,654 to \$38,381,967; Arkansas, debt increased from \$4,036,952 to \$19,761,265; Florida, debt increased from \$221,000 to \$15,763,447 (this was half as much as all the taxable values in the State); Georgia, debt increased from \$3,000,000 to \$44,137,500; Louisiana, debt increased from \$10,099,074 to \$41,194,473; North Carolina, debt increased from \$9,699,500 to \$34,887,467; Texas, debt increased from \$3,000,000 to \$17,000,000. (*Ib.* p. 435.) And all the proceeds of these enormous increases of debt, stolen, the poor States getting positively no advantage whatever from them.

Now what can be said if such a state of society as these governments produced should have caused violence and bloodshed? Are people who endured it for years and years to be denounced as lawless, turbulent, bloodthirsty, and cruel, if, in their rage and their despair, they sometimes broke loose from the bonds of moderation and self-control? All reasonable men must admit that for whatever they did they had a terrible provocation.

I have not gone at large into the details of affairs in all the States, but what I have shown to have been the case in South Carolina was not confined to that State. It was the state of society which the Reconstruction governments caused all over the South. They made life almost unendurable.

Mr. Tourgee and the Republican party generally will insist that the negro of the South is oppressed and maltreated by the white man, and that the General Government must protect him. They are willing to overthrow and trample under foot all the theories and traditions of our Government which declare that local matters must be left to local government, to protect the negro from the wrongs that they imagine the white people of the South inflict upon him; and just as in all other cases of officious intermeddling with what does not concern the meddler, they themselves cause the very evil which they would seek to prevent, and which does not and would not exist if they would only let matters alone that do not concern them. There is no animosity between the two races in the South when they are let alone, and the negroes are not stirred up into a state of

political agitation by bummers, adventurers, and other forms of carpet-baggers for their own aggrandizement. The two races have been raised together; they understand each other, and therefore adapt themselves the one to the other, and dwell together in absolute peace and harmony when they are not disturbed. Notwithstanding the terrible provocation to which the white people were subjected in Reconstruction days, there were no outrages on the negroes inspired by a disposition to be cruel to them. Whatever occurred in the nature of violence was measures resorted to by the people as means of self-protection and defence. The only places where it can be pretended there was anything like an organization of the white people to oppose the negroes with arms, were small parts of North Carolina, Alabama, Mississippi, and possibly Louisiana. And in North Carolina, whatever there was of organization appears to have been in the counties over which A. W. Tourgee presided as carpet-bagger circuit judge. He made the situation of the white people of those counties so intolerable that they could not live under it. Let any white man from North Carolina, from any one of the counties in Tourgee's circuit, be asked about him, and anathemas upon his head will be the reply. The surest evidence that the Ku-Klux conspiracy in North Carolina was not what Tourgee represents it is the fact that he is to-day living to slander her people after having got from them all he could lay his hands on. Where there were no carpet-baggers there has been no pretence that

there were Ku-Klux, rifle clubs, Red Shirt or other conspiracies.

Virginia rescued herself from carpet-bagger government in 1869, as I have already shown. From that time to this her government officers and her Legislature have consisted of persons chosen by the white people. There is no pretence that during all that interval the negroes in Virginia have received any other than the most absolute fairness and justice in their treatment. Her record in this respect is one that she can point to with pride. In 1870 she established an elaborate system of public free schools for white and black alike, which she has ever since sustained, though weighed down to the very ground by an enormous public debt, upon which she has regularly paid \$1,200,000 of interest each year. The following table exhibits her school statistics in that time :

YEAR.	No of Pupils.	Colored.	Cost for the Year.
1871.....	131,088	38,554	\$587,472 39
1872.....	166,377	46,736	993,318 59
1873.....	160,859	47,596	950,419 05
1874.....	173,875	52,086	1,004,990 02
1875.....	184,486	54,941	1,021,396 68
1876.....	199,856	62,178	1,069,679 56
1877.....	204,974	65,043	1,050,346 57
1878.....	202,244	61,772	961,894 97
1879.....	108,074	35,768	570,389 15
1880.....	220,736	68,000	946,109 33

This is nearly forty cents tax on the hundred dollars

of property for schools alone ; much more than some States pay for all purposes.

Whoever will take the trouble to go over this table will see that the average between white and black at school is a little more than three to one, and that the proportion is about the same each year. This does not come from superior facilities being provided for the white to those provided for the negroes. The system maintained for the negroes would suffice for many times the number of children sent to the schools. The negroes do not all thoroughly appreciate the advantages of education yet, however, and they do not send their children to the schools as generally as the whites do. About one-third of the money which this table exhibits has been spent in educating negro children in Virginia. In order to do this, the white people of Virginia have voluntarily borne what is, I believe, much the heaviest rate of taxation paid by any State in the Union. (The negroes have paid little or nothing.) The entire sum of values in the State is less than \$300,000,000. (The assessments for 1880 are not all in yet, but enough are in to show that the values will not be much above \$250,000,000.) During all this time the white people of Virginia have voluntarily taxed themselves to keep up their State government, at an annual cost of nearly one million dollars, to pay annually \$1,200,000 of interest upon their public debt, and to keep up the public free-school system. All this has been done notwithstanding the losses by the war, the devastation of the State, and

the utter disorganization of labor which the war left behind it.

They have in the same way cared for the negro insane. They have established a central lunatic hospital at Richmond, in which all the insane negroes in the State are placed, and there they receive the benefit of all the methods which science shows best adapted to the treatment of the insane.

The Census Reports for 1880 make some astonishing revelations pertinent to the subject under discussion. They show an increase of productions, manufactures, and population in the South which is simply amazing. The cotton crop, raised in the "Bulldozer's paradise," has come up from 2,193,987 bales raised in 1866, or 3,656,006 raised in 1861, to upwards of 6,000,000 raised in 1880. All the other staples—sugar, tobacco, corn, wheat, live stock—show a parallel increase. In the limits of a newspaper article I cannot of course display the comparative increase in all these matters, which would be exceedingly interesting; but the exhibit which the cotton-growing States make in manufacturing cotton is too interesting and instructive to be omitted. The following table shows the state of manufacture of cotton in 1870 and in 1880 in those States. Can the voice of the "Bulldozer" be really so loud in the land when such results are shown as this table exhibits? This is the prosperity of peace. None but an orderly population can wax fat after this manner. The horn of plenty must hang in the land where such figures as these are shown.

STATES.	1880.					1870.					Increased Consumption of Raw Material, per cent.
	Number of Looms.	Number of Spindles.	Number of Bales Used.	Number of Persons Employed.	Number of Looms.	Number of Spindles.	Number of Bales Used.	Number of Persons Employed.			
	Looms.	Spindles.	Bales.	Hands.	Looms.	Spindles.	Bales.	Hands.	Inc. of Cons'n per cent.		
Alabama.....	1,060	55,072	14,887	1,600	632	28,046	8,124	1,032	83		
Arkansas.....	28	2,015	720	64	....	1,125	166	17	333	
Florida.....	4,713	816	350	33	....	85,602	27,302	2,846	all clear gain.	
Georgia.....	704	200,974	67,874	6,678	1,887	3,526	1,452	265	148		
Mississippi.....	1,900	26,172	6,411	748	152	39,897	10,595	1,453	341		
North Carolina..	1,776	102,767	27,508	3,428	618	34,940	11,892	1,123	254		
South Carolina..	1,068	92,788	33,099	2,195	745	27,923	7,181	890	178		
Tennessee.....	1,068	46,268	11,699	1,312	313	77,110	7,181	890	63		
Virginia.....	1,324	44,336	11,461	1,112	1,310	....	10,134	1,741	7½	
It will be interesting now to compare the cotton manufacture of the four leading New England States during the same periods.											
1880.					1870.						
Connecticut..	18,036	931,538	107,877	15,497	11,943	597,142	79,368	12,086	36		
Massachusetts..	94,788	4,465,290	578,590	62,794	55,343	2,619,541	326,632	43,512	77		
N. Hampshire..	25,487	1,008,521	172,746	16,657	19,091	749,843	103,674	12,542	66		
Rhode Island..	30,274	1,649,205	161,694	22,228	18,075	1,042,242	111,576	16,745	44		

These tables suggest some interesting and valuable lessons. They show, in the first place, that the manufacture of cotton, which was a mere infant in the Southern States in 1870, has grown in those States in ten years into a robust and strong man. They show, in the second place, that while the production of raw cotton has doubled in ten years, the average increase of manufacture of cotton in the four petted New England States has been only $55\frac{3}{4}$ per cent, while the average increase of manufacture in the cotton States has been 176 per cent. They show that while Massachusetts, the petted child of protection, drawing on the entire nation for means with which to foster her manufactures, has only increased them 77 per cent, Georgia, manufacturing the magnificent quantity of 67,874 bales, or 27,149,600 pounds, has increased hers 148 per cent. They show that she is pressing Connecticut hard, and is manufacturing nearly one-half as much as Rhode Island. They show that the people of the Southern States are beginning to learn that their true interests are not confined to raising cotton ; that they have learned the value of their magnificent water-power, and that they are beginning to wake up to the fact that the place where cotton is grown is the place where it can be manufactured with the largest profit. Ten years ago New England looked down with scorn upon the feeble efforts that the cotton States were making to manufacture their raw material. She now sees the infant of ten years back grown to the proportions of a man, and threatening to dissolve the bonds by which her monopoly has been sustained. She

must arouse and shake herself, or the day for her sceptre to pass from her will arrive. While New England's Republican rulers are busying themselves with vain and impertinent investigations of the local affairs of the Southern States, those States, bending all their energies toward the problem of how best to utilize their fabulous resources—discarding from their consideration the vexed questions of politics, and devoting themselves to business—are stealing from her the talisman with which she of old converted their rude heaps into refined gold. New England may go on concerning herself with the Southern negro, as Brabantio was once beguiled by a certain colored gentleman, until the negro will steal her treasure from her as Othello stole Brabantio's from him.

But the exhibit which the Census Reports of 1880 make of the increase of population in the last ten years in the Southern States, and especially among the negroes, is positively astounding. I do not believe an increase parallel to theirs within the past ten years, from self-multiplication alone, can be shown in the history of the world; for let it be remembered that while the whites have received accessions from immigration, the accession of negroes has come from procreation alone. The following table exhibits the population of the States named by races for the years 1870 and 1880, with the increase of each race per cent in each State, with the average increase in all :

	Negro.			White.		
	1880.	1870.	Inc. per c.	1880.	1870.	Inc. per c.
Alabama... ..	600,358	475,510	26½	661,986	521,384	27
Arkansas.....	210,953	122,169	72	591,611	362,115	63
Florida.....	125,317	91,689	36	141,249	96,057	46
Georgia.....	724,765	545,142	33	814,218	638,926	27
Louisiana.....	485,200	364,210	33	455,063	362,065	25
Mississippi.....	652,221	444,201	47	479,371	382,896	25
North Carolina....	531,815	391,650	35	returns in- complete.	678,470	..
South Carolina....	604,235	415,814	45	391,071	289,667	35
Tennessee.....	403,343	322,331	25	1,139,120	936,119	21
Texas.....	returns in- complete.	253,475	...	returns in- complete.	564,700	..
Virginia.....	631,827	512,841	23	880,376	712,089	23

Total average increase of negro population, 38 per cent ; total average increase of white population, 33½ per cent.

Here is an average increase of the negro population, by self-multiplication alone, of 38 per cent in ten years. The negro increase by self-multiplication alone has been five and a half per cent greater than that of the whites, through self-multiplication and immigration combined, and the immigration to a number of the Southern States within the past ten years has been very considerable, and yet the increase of the whites has been such as to be most gratifying. It is idle to talk of a race, which has made such a wonderful multiplication of itself during the past ten years, having lived always in terror of its life, or of its having been the subject for unending murder and assassination. When people have to protect their lives by hiding in swamps, they do not increase in this way ; nor can they, if all their time and attention are

occupied in looking out for assassins, raise the food which is necessary to their increase. Nothing but a land of peace and plenty can show such an accession to its population as the South shows for the past ten years.

With the Republican party's record in relation to the negro, it ill becomes it to be demanding of the Southern whites that they should quietly stand by and permit the negro, such as he is in the Southern States, to administer the governments of those States. If Rutherford B. Hayes is to-day President of the United States, he was made so by the votes of the negroes in South Carolina, Louisiana, and Florida. What appointments has R. B. Hayes conferred upon negroes? Where is the foreign mission, the judicial office, the cabinet appointment, the post-office, the collectorship of the revenue, the district-attorneyship that he has given to a negro? Mr. Garfield is to-day President-elect by the negro vote. New York, Indiana, and Connecticut were all carried for him by negro votes. His majority in New York was 21,033. The census returns for 1880 for New York are not yet complete, but for New York City and 38 out of the 60 counties in the State they show 54,554 negroes. The other twenty-two counties will certainly increase this to 75,000. Now, allowing one voter to each five of the population, and we have 15,000 negro voters. Strike 15,000 votes from Mr. Garfield in New York and add them to General Hancock, and where would Mr. Garfield be?

The census of 1880 is complete as to Indiana, and it shows 39,268 negroes in that State. This gives nearly

8000 voters. Mr. Garfield carried Indiana by 6642 votes. Strike the negro vote from his, and where would he be?

He carried Connecticut by 2656 votes. The returns are not complete yet for Connecticut, but returns from eight counties show 11,799 negroes, the voting population of which is just about equal to his majority.

Now, though the Republican party will be kept in power for the next four years by the negro vote, what appointments will Mr. Garfield confer upon them? Will he make the postmaster of New York City a negro? Will the collector of that port be a negro? Will the Supervisor of Internal Revenue be a negro? And what would happen if he should make these officers negroes? What would the saintly city of Boston even do, if he should appoint negroes to those offices there? I rather opine that even her sanctified exterior would suffer a slight ruffle if this should be done.

In the spring of 1880, Judge Alexander Rives, Republican United States District Judge for the Western District of Virginia, had a number of Virginia county judges indicted in his court for failing to put negroes on their juries. These gentlemen were all men of as high character as any in the State, and administered the laws as fairly and impartially towards all orders and races as it was possible to do. Indeed they were acquitted on their trial by negro juries. There had been no sort of complaint that negroes could not get justice done them in their courts, but just to keep things a-going, the judge had them indicted. Now in Judge Rives's court the judge is a white man, the marshal is a white man,

all the deputy-marshals are white men, the clerk is a white man, all the deputy-clerks are white men, the crier of the court is a white man—all the employés of the court are white men till you get down to the man that washes the spittoons, and he is a negro. And so the Republican administrations have thought of the negroes and have acted toward them. They are good enough to be put over the white people of the South, but there must be no suggestion of putting them over white people in the North.

The trouble with Mr. Tourgee and all of his kind is that they are attempting to do that which, in the unchangeable nature of things, it is impossible to do. They are endeavoring, by constitutional amendments, and acts of Congress, and general orders, and military supervisions, to form and develop institutions irreconcilable and inconsistent with existing institutions in the South. Forms of social development, the manner in which men think and act, the point of view from which they apprehend facts physical, or facts metaphysical, moral, or political—these envelopments are the institutions of society.

They begin in the infancy of peoples. They grow with the foundation of nations. They spread themselves with civilizations, inhering to society and modifying themselves, as time goes on and circumstances change, to meet the changed times and circumstances. They are the institutions of society. They exist before constitutions are dreamed of, and they continue after constitutions are altered, overthrown, or again invent-

ed or reconstructed. No constitution can last unless it be sympathetic and consistent with these institutions. The school of which Mr. Tourgee has been made the apostle have for fifteen years been attempting to force on the Southern States a political organization or constitution which is opposed to their traditions, their convictions, and their sympathies.

They are using all the moral power of a great civilized people, of its art and its thought, its pulpit and its press, to establish there a condition of things contrary to nature and subversive of the fundamental principles of social order.

Not a State from Massachusetts to Iowa, not a city from Boston to San Francisco, could live a generation with the principles of the Stalwart Reconstruction applied to them, and enforced by overpowering moral and physical force.

It is of the essential nature of things that society must rest on force. That force may be wielded by the consent of the governed, as the American constitutions insist, or it may be controlled by pure physical force, without regard to right or reason.

Force is what is generally designated as sovereignty, and it is the sanction of law and the power which enforces order and respect for law.

This force, sovereignty, power, cannot reside in numerical majorities. It comes from the forces themselves, which control and direct social development. They are manhood—in the Latin sense *virtus*—manliness, intelligence, property.

They are the triune source of the social forces—virtue, intelligence, property. American experience proves this. Our States were founded on the idea that political power was a trust, and therefore it was granted to only a portion of the community. In some States it was based on property alone, and women were allowed to vote ; in others on property and race combined, and none but whites were intrusted with the franchise ; in others on sex and property, and all males, white and black, exercised the power.

No statesman or philosopher believed that government could be carried on resting on numbers alone. In the experience of the century we have had demonstrated the utter failure of the system of pure numerical majorities. The great cities are, with few exceptions, governed by the exterior power of the State, their incapacity for the protection of life and property and the preservation of order by rule of numbers having been admitted. The police power of New York is wielded by the State Government, as is that of Chicago, Boston, New Orleans, and Baltimore.

Where numbers alone are intrusted with power, it has been abundantly proved that intelligence and property assert themselves in illicit and unlawful ways. Bribery is the revenge of property on universal suffrage.

The State Legislatures this winter have everywhere acknowledged the power of great railroad corporations, which have swayed their decisions and controlled their actions.

While I write, the power of the national banks is be-

ing exerted on the business and labor of the country to deter the National Legislature or frighten the National Executive from interfering with the business and property interests of the banks. And their resistance, whether successful or a failure, will inflict infinite harm on many innocent people—the widow, the orphan, the workwoman, and the laboring man.

Universal manhood suffrage as represented in Congress is attempting to control economical forces which lie beyond the domain of government, and the consequence is derangement, disturbance, and distress. The Stalwart Reconstruction plan is based on two false ideas—false philosophically, false historically. They are the absolute equality of all men in force and vigor, and the perfect equality of all races.

The attempt to engraft this system on the stock of Southern institutions is the cause of all the disturbance, all the disorder which has taken place there during the last fifteen years.

Suppose the Greenback party should obtain absolute control of the National Government, and of those of twenty-four States; that the leaders of that party should carry on a systematic and determined agitation for the rights of labor as against the rights of property. Suppose all the power of the National Government and of twenty-four State governments were concentrated in the propaganda of the right of government to control society in all its relations of property, of labor, of the family; that it taught the railroad men and employés of manufacturers that they were entitled to their fair

share of the profits of their employers ; that it disseminated its social gospel in the great cities, that the worker is entitled to work, that the duty of the city is to furnish him with work, and that he is, by his representatives in the government, to fix the amount of his work—by regulating the hours of labor, the pay for his work, by fixing his wages, and to provide the money for his wages by taxes of his own levying on property not his own. After this party has thus exercised this great power, and has organized itself in New York City, you would behold a fair example of what its prototype, the Stalwarts, attempted in the South from 1867 to 1871.

You would have societies of laborers, ignorant and impassioned, led by sharp rascals of their own order, or who had been expelled from the ranks above for flagrant misconduct. You would see the thieves, the burglars, the dangerous class emerge into day and assert their right to share in the luxury and self-indulgence so lavishly displayed on every side. The biggest thief would sport the biggest diamond, the greatest rogue the grandest equipage ; order would disappear, property would dissolve, and prosperity would wither in a society so agitated and so governed.

This is precisely what was done in Charleston and New Orleans. The Legislatures of South Carolina and Louisiana afford burlesques on parliamentary proceedings only equalled in the opera bouffe. But the tragic lay close covered by the comic, for this absurd travesty of politics only concealed the corruption which eat up the State and destroyed the possibility of peace.

The Reconstruction therefore was a crime against philosophy; for all men knew that an inverted pyramid could not stand, and that no society could exist where ignorance and vice were intrusted with power, and knowledge and virtue excluded. The party which invented and enforced this crucifixion of States has long since abandoned its cardinal dogma of equality, by expressly excluding the Chinese from the benefits of it, so lavishly extended to the African. It was a crime against history and science as well.

The attempt was made to place on a plane of enforced equality, a race that has been an inferior race as long as records of mankind exist—a race that has never made a step in development, reared a monument, uttered a song, or created an idea which lived.

Their theory is directly in the face of all modern investigation and advanced thought. It is opposed alike to the teachings of revealed religion and facts, and ascertained results of the latest researches into the origin and history of man.

The great progress that has been made in the last quarter of a century in all that relates to philology, archæology, and natural history has proved some general propositions on which all agree, whether orthodox or scientific. Whether the human race was created by a single creation, whether it descended from one pair, whether it developed from lower species by progressive steps and in divers places, are matters still discussed. But all inquirers agree, from Darwin to the bishops, that among races of men the greatest diversity

exists; that it has existed for at least four or five thousand years, ever since records have possessed any trace of men, and that in that period no change has occurred in the physical structure or the brain capacity of each race.

The negroes on the Egyptian monuments are but portraits of members of the South Carolina Legislature. The figures exhumed by Schliemann from the Seven Troys are counterparts of the modern Aryan race.

The learned Professor Winchell, of the University of Michigan, summing up the result of all scientific and archaeological investigation to this date, arrives at the conclusion that races develop in order of power, and in relation to the epoch of creation in which they live.

That each epoch is accompanied by a fauna and flora suitable for that age of development, and that races of men existed as part of such period. As time progressed, and the changes took place which geology shows us did take place, and the enormous plants and prodigious reptiles and great animals succeeded one after another, so in grand order came the races of men, the higher and stronger and newer growing out of the primary, weaker, lower races. With the first order of creation, now represented by the tropical plants and animals, came the black races of Australia and Africa; after them came the brown races of Asia and America; and then, as the crowning act of a grand development, there sprang from the second race the blossom of all time, the Aryan blood, which for a connected history of four thousand years has ruled the world.

I do not presume to accept or deny these results, but I do assert that all modern scientific investigation, physical or biological, from Quatrefages to Winchell, has proved that different races have different forces, and that the negro races are far inferior in strength and force to the white or yellow races. I say, therefore, that the attempt of the Stalwart Reconstructionists to force political power on a race utterly unable to hold on to it, and to maintain them in the pretended enjoyment of it, is contrary to the order of nature. If they were to organize a society in which women alone were to control, the men would absorb the power immediately. If they were to provide that only men between ten and twenty should vote, the virtue, intelligence, and property of that society would usurp the entire and perfect management of it at once.

Weakness cannot rule strength. If political dominion is given to the blacks, it will be exercised either by the people who give it to them, or by people who are in immediate connection with them.

In neither case will the power be used by the blacks. They will be but the hands by which the superior race exercises it.

Upon the whole, I desire to say that when Mr. Tourgee undertakes to write history, he establishes his right to the place that his admirers claim for him—to wit, that of the greatest author of fiction of the day.

WM. L. ROYALL.

NEW YORK, Feb., 1881.



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